Homeless at Home: Identity and Theatre Translation in Hong Kong

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DECLARATION FOR PHD THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the present research is to examine the relationship between theatre translation and identity construction in Hong Kong. In the first section of this thesis, the sociocultural background which has led to the popularity of translated theatre in Hong Kong is described. The nature of theatre translation is examined in order to illustrate how the process of identity construction has been reflected in the staging of Western drama in the territory. In the second section a statistical analysis of the development of translated theatre is presented, establishing a correlation between the popularity of translated theatre and major socio-political trends. The aim is not to identify any direct causal relationship, but rather to discuss whether identity is a passive constant or whether it is in a state of constant development; only if the latter is the case can we begin to talk of a true sense of identity. The third section contains a series of analyses of foreign plays and their stage renditions in Hong Kong through exploring the translation strategies of various theatre practitioners. We are interested not only in the textual and discursive transfers but also in the different ways in which Hong Kong people perceive and conceive their identity in the performances. To the Hong Kong people, Hong Kong is home, but when the idea of home, often assumed to be the basis for identity, becomes blurred for historical, political and sociocultural reasons, people may come to feel "homeless" and compelled to look for alternative means to develop the Self. As the main arguments presented in this thesis demonstrate, in theatre translation, Hongkongers have found a source of inspiration to nurture their identity and expand their "home" territory.

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INTRODUCTION

> In Hong Kong, the most cosmopolitan of cities, contrasts abound. Ladies toting Gucci handbags wait two hours in dingy alleys for a coveted bowl of noodles. Incense-filled Buddhist temples fight for space with gleaming new high-rises. Cutting-edge art galleries share a block with junk shops. Always reinventing itself—a recent example being the rebirth of the former marine police headquarters as the 1881 Heritage, housing a luxury mall and boutique hotel—Hong Kong is a city of constant change.
>
> (Naomi Lindt, "36 Hours in Hong Kong". *New York Times*. 17 March 2011)

In Hong Kong, not only is the cityscape forever changing, but the lifestyle and the way people think about themselves are changing as well. The process of change never ceases, and the pace appears to be quickening by the day, resulting in a perpetual intermingling of different cultural and socio-political discourses, which in turn renders the changes all the more obvious and vigorous. Comparison and contrast are modes of operation every day, and cosmopolitanism prevails as the city develops into a hub of international business, encouraging contacts with people and things of other nations and cultures. Hong Kong can thus be likened to a kaleidoscope: a slight shift in position would trigger a change in the arrangement of the contents and angles of reflection, presenting the viewer with a myriad of colours and patterns.

Hong Kong had been a place of transition for its people ever since 1814 when it first became a British colony. It is only in the last fifty years that some of its citizens have started to consider it as home, yet still yearning for things on the outside. Between homelessness and home, Hong Kong has come to be. If home is ever-changing, how does the Self respond or not respond to the changes? This is probably why the so-called Hong Kong identity is often described as intractable,

subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power.

The present research has two main concerns: theatre translation and identity. Specifically, we are interested in how translated theatre has reflected Hong Kong identity and the process of its construction. The coexistence of and conflicts among the disparate discourses in Hong Kong identity are particularly discernible, giving rise to an array of translation and performance strategies which reflect the ways in which Hong Kong people make sense of the Self and the Other. Between the options of rejection or adoption, foreignisation or localisation, imitation or subversion, exists not a vacuum, but rather a continuum which allows the production of something new, unique and fitting to the needs of the Self. As Theo Hermans has pointed out, translation is a "privileged index of cultural self-reference" or "self-definition", because "the practice of translation comprises the selection and importation of cultural goods from outside a given circuit, and their transformation into terms which the receiving community can understand, if only in linguistic terms, and which it recognises, to some extent at least, as its own" (Hermans 2002: 15). Thus, translation, under the guise of spokesman for the Other, speaks more of the Self than of the source text. The coexistence of foreign and local discourses and the perennial pull from both sides mean that translators must make a choice and establish a pattern for discourse allocation in their translations. Assuming that the target audience is clearly defined, an analysis of deliberate and calculated attempts to manipulate audience perception will shed light on the broader, cultural identity of both the audience and the translators (Aaltonen 2004). This observation is particularly pertinent to analysing theatre translation in Hong Kong and the construction of the Hong Kong cultural identity. Most play scripts in Hong Kong are translated for the purpose of scheduled performances, and the translators are acquainted with the

performance troupes and the directors (Rupert Chan 2009; Dominic Cheung 2009; Szeto Wai-kin 2009). The audience group has also been reasonably clearly defined, the majority consisting of adults aged 18 to 46 with a high-school education or above (K. B. Chan 2009). Such knowledge of the theatre circle and the audience is undoubtedly helpful in understanding the subjectivity represented in the translations.

Hongkongers, Identity and Hong Kong identity

Hongkongers

With a land mass of 1,104 km^2 (426 sq. mi.) and seven million people, Hong Kong is one of the most densely populated areas in the world (Ash 2007: 78). The population is 95 per cent ethnic Chinese and 5 per cent from other groups (Census and Statistics Department 2010). Cantonese is the language most commonly spoken in the territory. Officially, Hong Kong residents include permanent residents (who either were born in Hong Kong or have resided in Hong Kong continuously for no less than seven years) and non-permanent residents (who are allowed to live in Hong Kong for a certain period of time but do not have the right of abode). For the purposes of this research, the term "Hongkongers" refer to the ethnic Chinese residing in Hong Kong and having the right of abode in the territory.

Identity

The term "identity" originated from Latin *idem*, indicating sameness. The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines "identity as "who a person is, or the qualities of a person of group which make them different from others". The Merriam-Webster

Collegiate Dictionary offers a similar definition for the word as "the distinguishing character or personality of an individual". These descriptions consider one's distinctiveness relative to other people or things, and imply that any identity and identification have to be contextualised to make sense.

Several scholars and their ideas lend theoretical support to the present research. Jacques Derrida's ideas on "centre", "sign" and "difference" (1978b: 278–93; 1982: 1–27; 2004a: ix–xliii; 2004b: 15–33) are the inspirations for the reconsideration of the validity of a fixed, hierarchical relationship between Hong Kong, Britain and China, and help to explain why Hongkongers do not have a stable imagined homeland and thus feel bound to neither China nor Britain. Homi Bhabha's concepts of "cultural hybridity" and "in-between spaces" (1990: 1–7, 1994: 1–18) offer ground for this study to explore Hongkongers' unceasing efforts in re-inventing themselves. And the understanding of Stuart Hall, that identity is a matter of "becoming" as well as of "being" (2000: 704–14), directs our attention to Hongkongers' sense of displacement and situational consciousness of the ongoing process of Self-construction.

Hong Kong lacks a cultural and national centrality. On the one hand, the majority of the Hong Kong population are ethnic Chinese. Many social customs, literary and artistic works embody the legacy of traditional Chinese culture. On the other hand, there have been considerable transformations in the social, cultural and political values attributable to Hong Kong's cosmopolitan experiences. While many staunch adherents to traditional Chinese values regard Hong Kong as the deviant "bastard" child at the periphery of an authentic (and by inference, more superior) sinocentric community, Hongkongers take advantage of the marginality and assert a wider, often Westernised global citizenship. However, the designation of Self and Other, their respective positions, as well as the hierarchy between them, is debatable.

One question needs to be asked: who really is Self and who is Other? An important characteristic of Derrida's ideas that provokes our thinking and enriches our theoretical consideration is the sceptical stance he posits in facing an assumed, single "centre". If the "centre" or the "origin" fails to be there and/or fails to function as the buttress for the entire "field" to create meaning, the "sign" (the part) of that "field" could stand in to replace the "centre" and perform its role in an infinite number of possible manners. The substitutions would delay the meaning construction, which Derrida names "play" (Derrida 1978b: 289–91). One implication of this is that the difference between something which is supposed to be crucial (the Self) and its counterpart (the Other) becomes ambiguous. In this paradigm, an absolute demarcation between the two items is a result of rigidity, which Derrida terms as "violence". Any previous fixed hierarchy between the supposed "centre" and the "sign" also becomes insignificant (Derrida 1978a: 79–153). "Différance" then rules the close relationship between two actions—to defer and to differ:

> In a word, the relationship to the present, the reference to a present reality, to a *being*—are always *deferred*. Deferred by virtue of the very principle of différance which holds that an element functions and signifies, takes on or conveys meaning, only by referring to another past or future element in an economy of traces.
>
> (Derrida 2004b: 25; original italics)

Derrida's ideas can help us understand Hong Kong's complicated relationship with regard to China and Britain. If we think of the Chinese and British grand narratives as geopolitical/ national/ cultural structures with "China" and "Britain" / Chinese nationalism and British nationalism/ Chinese civilisation and British civilisation as the supposed "centres", and Hong Kong and its local specifities being part of such structures, the position occupied by Hong Kong is far from rigid. The history of Hong Kong has shown unrestrained trajectories that have developed to build its

subjectivity. The supposed "centres" may mean different things to different people in different times. For Hongkongers, China and Britain are "origins" which are never complete and are always subject to further translations and interpretations. With experiences of geographical, social, political and cultural mis- and dislocations, it would be ludicrous for Hongkongers to identify with a single, geopolitical/ nationalist/ cultural "centre". The logic of too many frames of reference means that none at all applies. The absence of a fixed, single, referential anchorage from the outset almost warrants that the Self-formation of Hongkongers is never complete.

While Derrida's arguments direct us to rethink the preconceived, hierarchical relationship between Hong Kong, Britain and China, Bhabha's theory on "cultural hybridity" and "in-between spaces" offers us another perspective to consider Hong Kong's apparent disloyalty and capriciousness in the face of the dual "origins" and to look at Hong Kong as an active participant in transnational and transcultural exchanges. Bhabha acknowledges the presence and the importance of a nation in a transnational world and turns our attention towards the boundaries between nation states. These are the spheres where identities, cultures, values and politics are negotiable, and where transnational occurrences begin:

> What emerges as an effect of such "incomplete significance" is a turning of boundaries and limits into the in-between spaces through which the meanings of cultural and political authority are negotiated. … The anti-national, ambivalent nation-space becomes the crossroad to a new transnational culture.
>
> (Bhabha 1990a: 4)

Bhabha considers this kind of "in-between" spaces as the "Third Space", which "displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom" (Bhabha 1990b: 211):

> It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew.
>
> (Bhabha 1994: 37)

The "Third Space" is thus a zone that is forever invigorating. Bhabha's opinion frees us from nationalist constraints in studying Hongkongers' subjectivity as exemplified in theatre translation, further attesting to the futile totalisation of meaning construction in Derrida's sense. As a former British crown colony situated on the periphery of southern China, Hong Kong can be pertinently referred to as an exemplar of the Third Space between nation-states. Instead of regarding Hong Kong as related to a single nation-state, we may be able to see it as located in between nation-states, where people in the territory are poised to explore their hybrid identifications and the unlimited possibilities of their subjectivity in facing the dominant cultures.

From Derrida one may infer that a single, perfect home is not only of little importance; it is also impractical, if not impossible. A homeless person may be freed from the predicament and the Self/ Other hierarchy and may create new homes. Bhabha suggests possible sites for home-building and ways of survival. While constant development might smack of undevelopment or underdevelopment, Stuart Hall assures us that changes are part and parcel of a thriving identity. In writing about the cinematic representation of cultural identity in the new Caribbean cinema, Hall directs our attention to the sensitivity and proactivity of cultural identity. He argues that identity is a matter of "becoming" as well as of "being". It belongs to the future as much as to the past (Hall 2000: 706). He also emphasises that the incessantly transforming nature of identity is a "'production", which is "never complete, always

in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (704). Instead of something metamorphosed out of a void, identity is continuously reinvented and the alteration has to be contextualised in terms of history. Hence, identity should be positioned, as it is not a fixed term (Hall 1990: 222). Hall calls identities the "points of identification" and "positioning" (Hall 2000: 707).

Applying Hall's idea of identity to Hongkongers' Self-formation as represented in translated theatre, one would find that such process is always on-going. Hongkongers are always sensitive to all kinds of change and turbulence, which inform the "becoming" part of Hong Kong identity, while some "stubborn chunks" in the subjectivity remain and form the "being" part of the identity. With the two parts combined, a re-settled sense of Self may come into shape. Hall's reading of identity transformation draws our attention to two issues. First, any settled state or form of identification might stifle our understanding of the sense of existence of Hongkongers. Second, translation, which necessitates and rationalises the introduction of the Other and its effects on the Self, is important in understanding the "becoming" of identity.

Hong Kong identity

The ideas of Derrida, Bhabha and Hall open up discourses that inspire us to reconsider the case of Hongkongers' identity quest, especially through interactions with other nations and cultures. The ideas of Benjamin Ping-kwan Leung, Rey Chow, Ackbar Abbas and Leo Ou-fan Lee further stimulate our thinking about Hong Kong's stance towards the local in the headwind of globalisation.

Benjamin Ping-kwan Leung, in a collection of his public lectures entitled

Xianggang wenhua 香港文化 [Hong Kong Culture] at Hong Kong Art Centre in 1995, states that the postcoloniality has aroused Hongkongers' awareness of their situation, triggering differential communication and distortion of cultures and interpersonal relations (Leung 1995: 20). He stresses the liminality and hybridity of the territory, which leads to sporadic and schizophrenic identification with East and West. Lacking and rejecting a single centre, discourses of Hong Kong identity are built on multifarious narratives (29). The tolerance towards things foreign is deceptive, which arises from negation of Self, ignorance about the past and insecurity about the future (30–31). To cope with such crisis, Leung thinks that Hongkongers must uphold the "local cultural identity" and understand its formation and affiliation. On the one hand, he maintains that identity is not something fixed and unchanged, and not prone to identifying with any single, stable mode (28–31). Hong Kong identity is a hybrid with fragmented overlaps with Eastern and Western cultures. On the other, he considers it imperative to learn the "spirit of history and culture" of the territory. In particular, its interrelationship with Chinese history and culture has not been studied enough and has been left at a disadvantage by the flawed colonial educational system (31–35, 41–42). Leung seems to suggest that there are certain stable and essential aspects in Hong Kong identity to be retrieved and rekindled.

In a landmark article about the cultural politics of Hong Kong, "Between Colonizers: Hong Kong's Postcolonial Self-writing in the 1990s" (1992), Rey Chow debunks two common suppositions relevant to the discussion of the culture of Hong Kong. First, Hong Kong represents an anomaly of the term "postcoloniality" in its conventional sense. If "postcoloniality" should involve territorial independence at the end of the colonial rule, as well as reclamation of native cultural traditions which were distorted or destroyed by colonial powers, then Hong Kong's "postcolonial"

reality expunges all romances about rehabilitation or reinstatement typically associated with the departure of colonizers (152–54). Chow's argument is that Hong Kong does not have the privilege of independence as the sovereignty of the territory was simply "returned" to China, and that Hong Kong does not have a "pure origin" to reinstate or a profound native culture to restore. She makes it explicit that:

> Between Britain and China, Hong Kong's postcoloniality is marked by a double impossibility—it will be as impossible to submit to Chinese nationalist/nativist repossession as it has been impossible to submit to British colonialism.
>
> (Chow 1992: 153)

What is unique to Hong Kong is precisely "an awareness of impure origins, of origins as impure" (Chow 1992: 157). Second, it is not necessary to consider the culture of Hong Kong in terms of the centre versus the periphery. Neither Britain nor China occupies indisputable centrality over the construction of Hong Kong identity. However, despite the lack of a dominant and prominent centre, it is not necessary to endorse readily the array of popularised postmodern concepts such as "hybridity", "diversity", "multiplicity", "diaglossia", "heteroglossia" and so forth.

Chow argues for an "in-betweenness" or "a third space between the colonizer and the dominant native culture", a space that cannot simply be collapsed into British coloinalism even as resistance to Chinese authoritarianism remains foremost (158). In *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies* (1993), Chow proposes that Hongkongers often have to adopt "the tactics of dealing with and dealing in dominant [British colonial and Chinese] cultures that are so characteristics of living in Hong Kong":

> These are the tactics of those who do not have claims to territorial propriety or cultural centrality. Perhaps more than anyone else, those who live in Hong Kong realize the opportunistic role they need to play in order, not to "preserve", but to negotiate their

"cultural identity".

(Chow 1993: 25)

The Hong Kong way of cultural production is thus characterised by a kind of negotiation between Britain and China, which Chow calls "tactics of intervention"—a non-violent technique for occupying one's place in between different cultures (Chow 1993: 15–16). In particular, Chinese nationalism ("native conservatism") is increasingly a stronger menace than British colonialism ("international openness"), as the former tends to obliterate or blur the complex history of the rise of a monolithically dominant, prohibitive mainland-based Chineseness as an overdetermined response to Western imperialism of the past two centuries (Chow 1992: 157).

Ackbar Abbas's landmark analysis of the contemporary cultural sphere of the territory, *Hong Kong: Culture of the Politics of Disappearance* (1997), foregrounds disappearance as one of Hong Kong's unusual and paradoxical features. He argues that Hong Kong, since 30 June 1997, has disappeared from a fixed definition through the duality of East/ West and tradition/ modernity. He considers the post-handover Hong Kong to be evanescent *ad adbundantiam*. He speculates that Hong Kong, in response to the recent changes (the transfer from British to Chinese rule and related sociocultural changes), practised "reverse hallucination", which sees only a desert (a metaphor for the seemingly barren cultural landscape of the territory) whose appearance is posited at the dawn of its disappearance. This type of crisis vision precipitated an unprecedented amount of both academic and popular interest in Hong Kong culture, which, before the bell of the handover started to toll, had been considered non-existent (even if it was supposed to have existed, it was basically an "imported commodity") (v–vii). Therefore, Hong Kong's challenge was to "survive a

culture of disappearance by adopting strategies of disappearance as its own, by giving disappearance itself a different inflection" (xiv–xv).

In an article entitled "Hong Kong: Other Histories, Other Politics" (1997b), Abbas expands on the idea of the politics of disappearance and describes Hong Kong's urban culture as a "negative space"—it is easier to define what that space *is not* than what it *is*. It is based not on colonialism, Chinese tradition, the people or their quality, but on "a *situation* to which it is a response" (1997b: 302–4; original italics):

> Hong Kong culture is a mediated response to an [*sic.*] historically unprecedented situation that since the 1980's has been becoming more complicated and paradoxical, a situation that may have slipped away from under our commonsensical perceptions into a kind of negative space.
>
> (Abbas 1997b: 304)

The so-called Hong Kong culture is absent of character and definition (300), often described with "clichés of the pure ('Chineseness') or of the hybrid (Hong Kong as a 'mixture of East and West')" (296). What concerns Abbas is urban culture rather than identity, because it is impossible to talk of a single, definitive identity; there is nothing that comes close to *the* Hong Kong identity. For Abbas, a more constructive way to understand Hong Kong would be to study the *effects* of situation-specific responses, which, in material forms, are the cultural forms of the territory—such as art, cinema and architecture, which reflect the complexities and historical specificity of the territory. Hong Kong identity should thus be considered a motley collection of cultural forms as responses to the happenings in urban life.

In *City Between Worlds: My Hong Kong* (2008), Leo Ou-fan Lee picks up Abbas's idea as a departure to introduce his critical framework. He proposes that Hong Kong is not merely a "generic city", which according to Rem Koolhaas (1995) has

transformed itself more or less in the same way as other cities in the world, but it should be more aptly described as a "model" for a generic city. Lee presents a caveat here. On the one hand, he sees the "passivity of colonial subjects" in Hong Kong citizens who in their history appeared reluctant to act out against colonial occupation. The territory has failed to define itself in the way other occupied countries such as Ireland and the Czech Republic did. The tension between history and modernity is an issue in every city, but is particularly acute in Hong Kong. On the other hand, it is too simplistic to state that what is British about Hong Kong might only constitute a small portion of the culture in the territory and that what will endure and what will be left is only Chinese. The territory is characterised by the flow of money and consequently there appears a flow of people, a constantly divergent trade, interactions and exchanges. This has to do with the underlying anguish and anxiety caused by the diasporic mentality under colonialism. Without saying it directly, Lee worries that Hong Kong, as a city of relentless development and redevelopment, high population density and hard-driving capitalism, might cease to maintain its cultural values and inimitability during the perpetual flow. His notion of a "generic city" is more pessimistic and oppressive than Abbas's "politics of disappearance": if "disappearing" is a survival tactic, Hong Kong might, according to Lee, risk losing its originality in the alternations between disappearance and re-appearance.

Chineseness

Chineseness is a major concern when it comes to the identity politics of ethnic Chinese outside mainland China. Much as the critics want to believe in the powerful "cocktail" of international influences, Hong Kong culture, due to the majority of ethnic Chinese in the local population and the geographical proximity to mainland

China, is inevitably a response to Chineseness, albeit to different degrees and in different manners. Currently there are three notions of Chineseness expounded by different scholars. First, the essential Chinese values as championed by purists and strict adherents inside China. Second, the empowerment of the periphery by decentring the "centre" (i.e., mainland China) through Tu Wei-ming's "cultural China" (1994, esp. pp. 13–15). This is a response or a resistance to sinocentrism, the grand narrative that celebrates one family, one people, one civilisation and one polity. Third, a hybridised and transformed Chineseness, which can be seen as a compound of the first two notions of Chineseness. Critics increasingly seek to interpret Chineseness as an open, indeterminate signifier describing how "Chinese" people are, rather than a fixed, universal signified for everyone and everything Chinese. It would be beneficial for us to adopt an open attitude to the representativeness of Chineseness. As Bhabha argues:

> Terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performatively. The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition.
>
> (Bhabha 1994: 2)

Cultural critic Ien Ang, an Indonesian-born Chinese descendant who does not speak or write Chinese, is one of those who embraces her Chineseness with flexibility. In her monograph *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living between Asia and the West* (2001), Ang argues that Chinese descendants living outside China intermix their Chinese traits with the local peculiarities of their host societies (Ang 2001: 50). She emphasises in her attitude towards her own status: "If I am inescapably Chinese by *descent*, I am only sometimes Chinese by *consent*. When and how is a matter of politics" (51; original italics). She points out that "there can never be a perfect fit between fixed identity label and hybrid personal experience" (11), valorising the concept of

"hybridity" as "a heuristic device for analysing complicated entanglement". Although "hybridity is not the solution", it "alerts us to the incommensurability of differences, their ultimately irreducible resistance to complete dissolution" (17). She also draws on Rey Chow's "tactics of interventions", which brings out "the contradictions and violence inherent in all posited truths" (2). Borrowing the phrase from Rey Chow (1993: 25), Ang states that it is important, especially for ethnic Chinese outside China, to "un-learn" Chineseness so as to free people from submitting to the vehemence of their ethnicity as the "ultimate signified", and to embrace their cultural attributes in a more flexible manner.

While the first two notions of Chineseness point to the demarcated structure of the Chinese imagined community with a clearly identified core, the periphery socio-political strata, the third notion seeks to interrogates the confinement of such configuration and inspires us to think over the meaning of being Chinese. Discussions on Hong Kong culture tend to adopt the third notion of Chineseness, and it is this notion that is more useful for our discussion of Hong Kong identity. For example, Allen Chun, in his provocatively titled article "Fuck Chineseness: On the Ambiguities of Ethnicity as Culture as Identity" (1996a), argues that "Chineseness, in terms of material culture, ethnicity, or residence was never clearly defined" (113–14). Chineseness views China as an unambiguous political entity consisting of discrete traits and traditions, yet it seeks to create "bonds of horizontal solidarity between equal, autonomous individuals constitutive of the empty, homogeneous social space of the nation". Hong Kong identity, as a variation of such Chineseness, "began to emerge only with the widening rift between Nationalist and Communist China, which turned Hong Kong initially into a battleground for contesting 'nationalist' identities'" (Chun 1996a: 113–14, 120). The colonial government took an active role in

promoting economic growth, with the dual purpose of modernising the territory and of dispersing ongoing nationalist conflicts that would potentially destablise the colonial regime. As a result, Hong Kong identity is "insulated from, and indifferent to, the politics of identity" (121). In another article "Discourses of Identity in the Changing Spaces of Public Culture in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore" (1996b), Chun categorically states that Hongkongers harbour "cultural alienation", which means that they lack "identification with mainstream Chinese culture and history" (1996b: 59, 65). Instead they have a peculiar Chinese cultural consciousness which divorces itself from the questions of political allegiance (59). After the handover, this Chinese cultural consciousness has evolved into a "tactic of co-option by business and political interests intent on cultivating favour in the future of a new Hong Kong" (65). Chun believes that such an apolitical and ambivalent Hong Kong identity is taking a "fractured" path (*ibid.*) and manifests itself the most in popular cinema, especially kung fu films and absurdist comedies (Chun 1996a: 120; 1996b: 65).

Stephen Teo also considers that Chineseness is a preoccupation most evident in the new wave cinema of the territory. In his monograph *Hong Kong Cinema: The Extra Dimensions* (1997), Teo detects a "China syndrome" in the local films between the 1980s and 1990s. The film-makers are keen on exploring the relationship between 1997 and the wider question of China and its relations with Hong Kong. They assert their identity in terms of the difference from what they present as China's, but they at the same time attempt to come to terms with the mother country (Teo 1997: 243):

> There is a genuine attempt to explore history and to acknowledge, even if only grudgingly, Hong Kong's kinship with China's history, both in its glorious and tragic manifestations, while at the same time inscribing a wish to stick one's head in the sand to efface the history that looms on the horizon by effacing the "real" history of the past. The eclecticism that underpins Hong Kong's type of postmodernism can thus be seen as a sign of a culture caught in the tension between a desire to construct a non-colonial

> identity by mobilising a sense of the past, and a profound anxiety about the possibility of that very identity being imposed rather than being constructed autonomously.
>
> (Teo 1997: 250)

The cinema of Hong Kong features an identity crisis with reference to the fear and reverence of Hongkongers for their imminent new ruler, China. There is, however, confusion in Teo's terminology. Sometimes China means the communist regime (112), but at other times it refers to the historic or cultural China in popular imagination (207).

There is a tendency of obfuscating, if not homogenising, Chineseness in the current discussion of Hong Kong identity. Chineseness, especially in the eyes of the critics who focus on the local cinema (e.g., Browne, Pickowicz, Sobchack & Yau 1994; Lu 1997; Teo 1997; Stokes & Hoover 1999; Chu 2003), appears to be a compound made up of a fascination with Chinese traditions (such as Chinese cuisine, medicine, kung fu, patriarchy and imperial courts), which are *atemporal* and *apolitical*. It also represents an aversion to the Chinese communist regime and the corruption and fear associated with it, which are *temporal* and *political*. Before accepting this definition of Chineseness, a few questions should be asked. First, if the Chineseness in the Hong Kong identity is a hybridised and transformed version thanks to its colonial history and cosmopolitan influences, it should not take on a uniform appearance even under different circumstances. The various artistic representations of Chineseness mentioned above come across as a constant in the face of rapid hybridisation, rather than a variable which grows and responds to the continual hybridisation. Second, if Hong Kong identity is believed to be a distinctive variation of Chineseness and a discrete cultural identity (Chun 1996: 113), how is such Chineseness different from those in other ethnic-Chinese identities inside and outside mainland China? While

identifiying the filmic representations and artistic forms of Hong Kong that makes Hong Kong both similar to and different from those of China, the film critics are yet to explain thoroughly why there are such similarities and differences. Third, if Hong Kong cinema is a "crisis cinema" (Stokes & Hoover 1999: 304), in which Hong Kong identity is constructed vis-à-vis a dominant, monolithic Chinese identity, and if there is a prevalent "China's syndrome" (Teo 1997: 207, 243) in the cinematic representations of the territory, the so-called Hong Kong identity seems more a wayward member of a broader Chinese identity, which is often at the risk of being "omitted, elided and erased" (Lu 1996: 14), than a thriving cosmopolitan identity of its own right. Therefore, while it is logical for the critics to consider Chineseness a major component of the so-called Hong Kong identity, it is perhaps equally important to examine how other dominant discourses are mutually transformed and absorbed at the site of contestation.

As a summary and a response to the critical discussions about identity politics, we posit the following basic principles of Hong Kong identity for the purpose of this research. First, Hong Kong identity is sensitive and open-ended, and forever responding to the environment. It is an apt exemplar of Hall's (2000: 704–14) idea of identity as a matter of "becoming" as well as of "being". It colonial history has brought about a lack of cultural and national centrality and aggravated the conflicts among the different identity discourses. Bhabha's idea of "in-betweenness" highlights such a state of sociocultural anarchy, specifies the positioning of the Hong Kong identity and characterises the means by which Hong Kong identity develops. Second, the co-existence of many frames of reference points to the improbability for Hongkongers to identify with any one of them completely. Yet such improbability has less to do with an objective constraint than a subjective refusal to settle on any

single "centre". They want to have many centres or no centre at all. Predominance of any monolithic identity discourse, be it Chineseness or otherwise, will come across as shackles. When any one discourse becomes too overwhelming, other discourses will promptly come up and vie for attention. Third, Hong Kong identity is discriminating. Hongkongers are prone to compartmentalise identity discourses and choose only those parts which they consider fitting. Such selective adoption dismisses the possibility of wholesale acceptance of discourse at face value. It also reflects an awareness of the needs of the Self and its affirmation. Therefore, in the case of the Hong Kong identity, it is less relevant to argue whether to accept or repel Chineseness, than to examine which elements of Chineseness Hongkongers tend to embrace and how the selection changes under different circumstances.

Theatre Translation

Research into theatre translation in Hong Kong has long been neglected by scholars. Attention has been mainly concentrated on written translations and particular playwrights; for instance, Shakespeare is an obvious and popular choice (see Dorothy Wong 1995; Tam, Parkin and Yip 2002). There are a few articles which shed light on the language of theatre translation in Hong Kong. For instance, Shing Sze-wai (1996) examines localisation in translated theatre in Hong Kong during the period 1985–1995. Rupert Chan (1992a; 1992b; 1996) takes advantage of his extensive experience in adaptation and opera subtitling and provides a practitioner's point of view on translated theatre. He claims to be a follower of the target-oriented approach and advocates translating for the locals using localisms.

Recently some studies on theatre translation in Hong Kong as an intercultural

phenomenon have appeared. Thomas Y. T. Luk's monograph, entitled *Translation and Adaptation of Western Drama in Hong Kong: From Page to Stage* (從文字到舞台：西方戲劇的香港演繹 *Cong wenzi dao wutai: Xifang xiju de Xianggang yanyi*, 2007), is the first book-length investigation into the performance and cultural transfer aspects of theatre translation in Hong Kong. After offering the reader an overview of Western drama performances in Hong Kong, Luk presents a lucid case study of the translated plays put on by the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre Company (HKREP), the flagship theatre company in the territory, after its corporatisation in 2001. On the basis of a detailed examination of more than 12 translated drama performances, he sheds light on the textual transfer and transformation of text into live performance. He proposes that the selection, production, promotion and reception of foreign drama are linked to the sociocultural conditions in general. However, Luk's limited scope inevitably loses sight of the complete picture of the theatre scene.

Gilbert C. F. Fong is interested in the problematic politics of cultural exchange in the theatre. Based on Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, Fong discusses how Chung King-fai 鍾景輝 (Zhong Jinghui),[1] widely regarded as the doyen of the Hong Kong theatre, advocated translated drama after his return from the United States in early 1960s. His two articles "Reconsidering the Discourse of the Colonised: A Case Study of the Early Theatre Translation by Chung King-fai" (被殖民者的話語再探：從鍾景輝早期的翻譯劇說起*Beizhiminzhe de huayu zai tan: Cong Zhong Jinghui zaoqi de fanyiju shuoqi*"; 2003) and "The Quest for Drama: The Artistic Journey of Chung King-fai" (尋找戲劇的故事：鍾景輝的藝術歷程 *Xunzhao xiju de gushi: Zhong Jinghui de yishu licheng*; 2006a) can be considered as pilot projects that led to Fong's (2006c; 2007a; 2007b; 2008) exploration into the relationship between theatre translation and the construction of a Hong Kong identity. Fong proposes the theory of "suspended identities", which

states that identity discourses are in a constant state of flux, with some discourses relatively more stable and dominant than others. In translated theatre the suspension of identities facilitates the reception of foreign elements and the conception of a new identity arrangement. Never losing sight of the theatrical experience, Fong confronts problems related to postcolonialism, anthropology and interculturalism. He also asks what is at stake politically and aesthetically when cultures meet at the crossroads of theatre. His studies signal a movement of attention away from the director and the word towards the complex relationship between theatre participants and the macro socio-political environment.

The present study represents an attempt to compensate for the general shortage of research into theatre translation as a reflection of identity construction in Hong Kong. This thesis is divided into three main parts. The first part serves to set the stage, delineating the sociocultural background which has proved to be conducive to making translated theatre so popular in Hong Kong. The nature of theatre translation is examined in order to demonstrate how identity construction is reflected in the rendering of Western drama. The second section offers a quantitative analysis of the development of translated theatre. An attempt is then made to establish a correlation between the popularity of translated theatre and major social and political events. The aim is not to identify any direct causal relationship, but rather to discuss whether identity is a passive constant or whether it is always in a state of proactive development, and to show that only when the latter is the case can we talk of a thriving identity. In the third part of this thesis, a series of detailed case studies of translated plays and the different approaches adopted by various theatre practitioners are presented. We are interested not only in the textual transfers but also in the ways in which Hong Kong people perceive and conceive their own

identity.

Chapter 1 sets out the sociocultural context of theatre translation in Hong Kong. An attempt is made to define what is meant by "home" to Hongkongers and the term "homelessness-at-home" is proposed to describe the situation which has been conducive to an outreaching tendency among the people of Hong Kong and thus the prominence of theatre translation in the territory. The ownership of more than one home, as well as the ease of movement between different homes, may offer some comfort and constancy in a "homeless-at home" situation, despite the fact that no one can be in two places at once. The term "identity translation" is proposed to explain how Hongkongers try to strengthen the coherence among the various homes they have been able to acquire and how they make sense of the newly acquired identity discourses that come with each additional home. Identity translation can be defined as the transposition of foreign identity discourses onto the identity web of the Self, with ramifications of migration, transformation and appropriation. In the process the existing identity discourses are suspended and displaced, and the imported discourses are fitted, appropriated and sometimes transformed.

Chapter 2 provides the background and a quantitative analysis of translated plays in the territory. In our investigation, it is found that the popularity of the translations apparently corresponded to the sociopolitical developments which took place from the 1950s to the 1980s. Translated theatre was like a neutralising agent that counterbalances any discourse set to become too dominant. Artistically and ideologically, translated plays afforded flexibility and safety for the local thespians to experiment with thematic and theatrical devices.

In Chapter 3 the pre-1980 trends are analysed in order to provide a perspective on the changes which took place in translated theatre in the 1980s and 1990s, the

period under investigation in this study. We find that early translations were mainly imitations, in which the aim was to remain faithful to the original in both form and content. We are also interested in the ideological implications of faithfulness in translated theatre. The trend of source-oriented translated theatre was started by Chung King-fai in the mid-1960s, given a highbrow image by The Seals Players during the 1980s, and then popularised by Theatre Space from the mid-1990s onwards. Despite their common espousal of Western drama and of the principle of fidelity in translating and performing, Chung, The Seals Players and Theatre Space, nevertheless, demonstrated different ways of representing the West.

In Chapters 4 to 7 some less faithful renditions of Western drama are examined. Chapter 4 investigates the China/West dilemma of Hongkongers through the study of theatre translations of *Hamlet* in Hong Kong, with a particular focus on Richard Ho's 1977 version. Rupert Chan's adaptation of *Twelfth Night* (retitled *Lantern Festival*), which is the subject of discussion in Chapter 5, is a more thorough domestication attempt which not only relocates the story setting from Illyria, Italy to the Lingnan region in China in the Tang dynasty (618–907), but also emphasises the local tongue by rendering dialogues in Hongkong-style Cantonese. Chapter 6 examines the reception of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* and demonstrates how the protagonist Willy Loman became a cultural icon for discontented working-class fathers in popular culture and even in politics, and how the America Dream was considered a universal goal and representing the hope of Hong Kong fathers for their sons. In Chapter 9, we examine the notion of mobility, which is a central theme in *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* (by Ray Cooney and John Chapman) and *Pygmalion* (by George Bernard Shaw) and their adaptations on the Hong Kong stage. The enthusiasm of the characters to "move over" is emblematic of Hongkongers'

propensity to change. The strength of the Self arises from the ability to switch positions easily. The constancy of identity is derived not from the maintenance of the status quo, but rather from a persistent appetite for change and a kind of optimism about what advantages changes could bring about.

Change is the key word for the Hong Kong identity. It implies volatility, adventure and versatility. The present research does not attempt to identify definitive features of the local subjectivity from particular translated plays and the history of translated theatre, but rather to contemplate the evolution of the Hong Kong identity as reflected in theatre translation.

NOTES

1. In this research, efforts have been made to find and use people's official English names. Some Hongkongers often have their Chinese names Romanised according to their Cantonese pronunciation, e.g., Chung King-fai and Szeto Wai-kin, while some have Western names, e.g., Rupert Chan and Fredric Mao. If they have no official English names or Cantonese Romanisation, *Hanyu pinyin* is used for transliteration in this thesis.

Chapter 1

HOME, IDENTITY AND TRANSLATION

Home is a precious word. We use it to confer significance, affection and value on a particular place (a house, a community, a town, a country), where we were born, raised, live and will be laid to rest one day. Home is not a normative concept; the concept of home includes much more than is denoted by a physical dwelling. What makes a home territory different from other territories is that it is on the one hand the place of inhabiting and on the other its connection with identity, or rather a process of identification and of affective articulation. Home is a *becoming* within an already territorialised space, a never-ending process of creating a space of comfort for ourselves, often in opposition to hostile forces outside. In other words, the line of demarcation between what is inside and what is outside is drawn by the home. It is neither the territory itself nor the house, but our view of it as home that makes it a home.

Home is defined as the place where "someone lives now or where they were born, often to emphasise that they feel they belong in that place" (Collins Cobuild Dictionary). This definition highlights the questions of origin, ownership and sense of belonging, which in turn form the basis of the identity. The aim of this chapter, using post-war Hong Kong as an example, is to examine what qualifies a certain territory as a "home" from these three perspectives, and how the "home" conditions have produced in Hongkongers a paradoxical feeling: *homelessness at home*. This has given rise to the development of a variety of strategies to procure "mirror homes".

The focus of our research is on theatre translation, which, through borrowing and re-enacting the situations of others, changing the languages and adjusting cultural contexts, tests out foreign elements that are potentially beneficial for the construction of the home identity.

In this age of the global village, considerations of the space designated as "home" have for the most part been seen as the terrain of conservative discourses. "Home" has been abandoned to its clichés. As the methodological basis for the current study, I aim to develop a theory of home and domesticity is developed as more than just the private dwellings of individuals, to read more than the domestic into the representations of the home, and to keep location from being limited to a geographic place on the map and politics from being reduced (or elevated) to nationalism.

Home is also the locus of our identification. Being *at home* denotes a sense of security and familiarity, so that we can be fully or almost fully ourselves. In this context our identity, supposedly in its essential and most stable form, comes to the fore. On the other hand, we can have a sense of being at home simply by being in the presence of a significant other. Home provides us with a basis from which to judge everything else. For example, if the walls in our home are painted white, we may assume it is "normal" for all home walls to be painted white; if they are not painted white, we may consider this to be "abnormal". The differences arising from such comparisons, according to the Lacanian school, help tell us what we really are. In this sense, we may assume that home bears the truth about our identity. Either as positive proof (the birthplace or nationality shown in our passports) or negative evidence (certain groups of people are defined by their lack of or distance from home, e.g., nomads, exiles), the very existence of home, however temporary it may be, is

instrumental in the formation of our identity.

The home as a sufficient condition for a stable identity construct does not exist a priori, naturally or inevitably. The existence of and residence in a home territory may not produce an identity indigenous to that territory. People whose home territory is under foreign occupation, for instance, are politically, culturally and socially displaced in their home territory. Their home may then have little to do with comfort, or may even be a space of violence and pain. The home experience becomes the process of coping, adjusting, stabilising oneself vis-à-vis the dominating invader: in other words, resistance. It can also mean a process of rationalisation or submission, a break with the reality of the situation, self-delusion, or falling under the delusions of others. In fact, home and identities are always permeable and social. The process of homemaking is an open and dynamic process, and the product (the home) and the by-product (home identity) are the result of the connections between the home and elsewhere. The home becomes a point of leverage against normative structurations of space, to tap other territories for tangible or intangible materials that may be useful for home expansion. In cases where the existing home is in certain ways inadequate for the growth of an independent identity, for instance, colonies, ex-colonies, or regions with a relatively young history and culture, interaction with the foreign will be particularly proactive and functional.

Hong Kong

Hong Kong is a place of oxymorons: although it is a former Crown colony, it does not fit neatly into conventional colonial discourses; although it is a southern China city populated mainly by people of Chinese descent, it rejects a monolithic Chinese

identity. It is an aberration that breaks all the rules, and it is arguably the least rebellious compared with other British colonies such as India, Ireland and the Caribbean Islands. It hangs on a pendulum swinging between two sovereign nations, that is, Britain and China, but it does so with ease and pleasure. Over the past two decades, the territory has witnessed a massive population outflow, and then an equally massive flow-back (a term probably unique to Hong Kong). The case of Hong Kong confounds historians, sociologists and cultural theorists with an embarrassing puzzle: how can a city thrive on a perennial compilation of contradictions?

Contradictions may thrive on postmodernism, the vocabulary of which—for example, fusion, mosaic, amalgam—tends to bracket things diverse, accentuating differences and at the same time smudging them into a kind of strange harmony, not unlike the paintings of Jackson Pollock. The theory of cosmopolitanism is useful in examining megalopolises. The theory of hybridity as a framework of identity and value construction is also useful when examining dynamically multicultural contexts. However, although such kitschy discourses are in some ways valid and explanatory in this age of rapid global exchanges (cultural, economic, geopolitical), they lack rigour and precision in each particular context—phrases used to describe Hong Kong, such as "a mixture of East and West" or "Asia's world city", also hold true for Tokyo, Seoul, Taipei, Mumbai, Singapore and many other cities and regions that aspire to internationalisation. Neither localism nor globalism seems an adequate framework for analysing culture and identity construction in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong reality remains a blurry vista. This reminds us of Hong Kong's official emblem of the bauhinia, noted for its neutrality and blandness and the fact that it is a botanical hybrid. Like the well-known yacht logo of the Hong Kong Tourism Board, the search

for a Hong Kong identity is at sea. The only suitable philosophy seems to be: let it float around. The quest for a Hong Kong identity is a long voyage.

Origin

Claims of identity are politically and culturally sensitive matters in contemporary Hong Kong. Hong Kong identity is an intricate web of at least three origins: Britain, mainland China, and the indigenous inhabitants of the territory. The 99 years of British colonial rule, needless to say, have informed and complicated Hong Kong identity. It is often regarded as an affiliation or variation of a broader Chinese identity, owing to the racial, social, cultural and geopolitical ties between the two regions, and to the fact that the bulk of the post-war Hong Kong population was made up by the influx of mainlanders into the territory. The presence of a significant number of mainland immigrants gives rise to the additional questions of when and how Hong Kong stood up in its own right and established an identity distinct from that of mainland China. Agnes Ku (2004: 326–60) suggests that it may have been the closing of the Lowu border in 1950 that marked the beginning of the development of a distinct Hong Kong identity. Its only land frontier was with China, and this was generally open for travel in both directions before 1950. For most of the 1960s and 70s, immigrants from China who did not possess the proper papers might still settle in Hong Kong provided that they succeeded in reaching the urban areas. It was not until 1980 that the Hong Kong government closed the doors and made the failure to produce a Hong Kong identification card a punishable offence. Breitung (2004: 9) argues that borders in general should be seen as "both cause and consequence of regional identities", which exist in part to keep out people who are regarded as alien or foreign. In the case of Hong Kong, the closure of the Lowu border marked the

geopolitical confines of the territory. The border set out the physical space on which the development of local culture and identity was based. It has also helped to maintain Hong Kong's demographic stability by defining the legitimate status of a Hongkonger—people inside the confines are Hongkongers and those outside are not. By implication, it defines mainland China and its people as foreign, or at least non-Hong Kong. In other words, it "preserves and stabilizes some important and potentially threatening differences" (Smart and Smart 2008: 184).

The earlier generations of so-called Hongkongers, uprooted from the mainland and transplanted to Hong Kong, could hardly consider the territory home. This was a legacy of Hong Kong being regarded as a stopover for mainlanders doing business or taking refuge in the colony. Former governor Alexander Grantham (1947–1958) wrote about the situation before the Sino-Japanese War:

> The majority of Chinese in the Colony… had little loyalty to Hong Kong. Like the Europeans, they came to Hong Kong to work until they retired home to China, just as the Europeans returned home to Europe. Not inaptly Hong Kong has been likened to a railway station, and its inhabitants to the passengers who pass in and out of the gate. (Grantham 1965: 112)

Writing in 1965, Grantham also had the prescience that the "railway station" situation had changed, and that a Hong Kong consciousness had developed, as "Chinese in Hong Kong now intend to return to the country of their birth. They are becoming permanent citizens" (Grantham 1965: 112). Still, they were not insiders, nor were they native to Hong Kong; rather they were people situated "to the side", so to speak, although not totally outside. Having lived there for several decades, they were what Roland Barthes (1980: 117) calls "sojourners", people who occupy an intermediate space and who possess "two strong statuses". They may be compared to travellers who have faithfully sustained their "desire to remain".

It was changes in the nature of the economy which gave rise to this generational

shift. The 1970s witnessed an era of prosperity. Under the energetic governance of Sir Murray MacLehose (1971–1982), Hong Kong's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased five-fold. The economy was fast approaching developed status and Hong Kong became known as one of the four "Asian dragons", along with Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea. There was a movement from labour-intensive manufacturing to high-technology capital-intensive production in the 1970s, followed by a further significant structural shift to tertiary sectors, such as distributive trade, financial services and the real estate industry, in the 1980s. Society became more affluent and the standard of living was raised enormously. At the same time, Sir Murray also overhauled the policies on housing, transport, education, labour legislation and social welfare, and more importantly, the system of a representative government. Standing up for the grass roots, he was staunchly supportive of the mutual aid committees established in low-cost housing estates, a variety of "neighbourhood watch" that was intended to be blended into the representational structure of the government. Some among the appointed members of the Legislative Council then came from an obviously lower-income or working-class background. Political issues came alive after the end of the 1970s. Popular interest was generated in particular in the use of Chinese as an official language and in the Independent Commission Against Corruption, which was created to fight corruption. However, under the banner of "peace and prosperity", Hong Kong for the most part simply went from prosperity to prosperity with little concern for political matters.

By the 1980s, the post-war baby boomers of the territory had come of age, whom the territory provided with unprecedented cultivation, opportunities and thus aspirations and predicaments (we will come back to this later), which were to

sharpen their sophistication and awareness of the anachronism of Hong Kong as a Crown Colony, particularly when the movement towards independence had already passed its peak elsewhere. Compared with their forebears, baby-boomers were better educated and more "worldly"; many spoke at least some English and an increasing number, though still a minority, were educated abroad. However, although they all had their fingers on the pulse of the world, they did not forget their Chinese roots. They were the generation that demanded the use of Chinese as an official language and inherited the posts and opportunities in the government made available by localisation. With the confidence they had gained from their astonishing achievements in economic and other sectors, the 1980s "Hongkongers" set themselves apart from other generations.

Hong Kong's newly acquired wealth also brought about the emergence of an increasingly distinctive Hong Kong culture. Most of the materials, such as songs, novels, films and television shows, which reflected the popular mentality, and understandably, were written in a Cantonese-based patois, with much of its vocabulary and syntax borrowed from English, Japanese and various Chinese dialects. It is a vernacular language starkly different from Mandarin, the written language used on formal occasions and in schools, offices and the government. Cantonese seeped into newspaper articles, television soaps, cinema scripts and popular songs, most of which intentionally or unintentionally reflected the life of the locals. The prominence of the Hong Kong popular media in the Chinese-speaking world also helped to reinforce the sense of Hong Kong identity.

Ownership

Who owns Hong Kong? Could the Hongkongers, especially the post-war generation, have dominion over the home where they were born, grew up and which they took part in building? How did they make sense of their "home" when they could not claim it as their own? For a colony the notion of ownership is something of an anomaly. During a colonial period the sovereignty of the land is ceded to the colonisers; when they retreat power is handed over to indigenous forces, often created by a growing demand for self-determination. For the colonised subjects, the loss of "home" ownership and its eventual recovery, albeit sometimes precarious, highlight the need for and hasten the emergence of a new (or at least revised) independent indigenous identity, which, more often than not, is often considered the restoration of a sociocultural tradition once disturbed by colonial aggression. In other words, the colony or former colony's identity should stretch back to the pre-colonial past, and express itself paradoxically as a historical and cultural rupture that must assert itself as a historical continuity. Two conditions are presupposed here: first, a profound local culture to be reinstated by common consent. But this is not absolutely necessary, as tradition is just a matter of time. In the case of Hong Kong, even taking into account its impure origins, the territory may build up, step by step, its own identity discourses. It does not necessarily take one tradition to displace or subordinate another. A young culture may also achieve resistance and subversion in its own ways.

The second and more important condition is a clearly defined "property right". Elsewhere in the colonial world, decolonisation was typically built upon the claim of "lost freedom". The circumstances of Hong Kong's handover largely precluded such a basis. Britain did not surrender sovereignty according to precedents already established for the dissolution of its empire. Power was not transferred to indigenous

forces demanding a transition to democracy based on universal franchise and self-determination. Rather, the demission of Hong Kong was, in practice, a retrocession of the ceded territory brought about by the expiry of the lease that resulted from the three treaties Britain concluded with China in the 19th century: the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, the Convention of Beijing in 1860 and the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory in 1898. Hong Kong did not even have the option of joining the Commonwealth (Darwin 1997: 16), and Britain explicitly declined to offer full citizenship to its colonial subjects. There was neither hope nor option of independence, but the future sovereign, in "resuming the exercise of sovereignty", was to subsume Hong Kong into a highly imaginative but as yet untried arrangement of "one country, two systems". The conclusion of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, which promised a "high degree of autonomy" for the local Hong Kong Chinese, exacerbated rather than alleviated the uncertainty over the territory's political future. Both the Chinese and British governments failed to adhere to the Joint Declaration, and their failures led to misinterpretation and violations of the Declaration as well as grave concern among Hongkongers about the prospect of full implementation of the policy of "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" (see Tang 1997).

During the decade before 1997, the political future of the territory was further clouded by changing internal and external circumstances. The drafting process of the Basic Law, the mini-constitution for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region after 1997, was embroiled in controversy and quickly overtaken by events happened in China. The June 4th Tiananmen crackdown in 1989 created a crisis not only on the mainland but also in Hong Kong, with far-reaching consequences for the territory. Undoubtedly, Hongkongers were shell-shocked. Sino-British relations also

deteriorated rapidly as a result of the outcry against the Chinese government's bloody suppression of the pro-democracy demonstrators. The British government's subsequent collection of efforts to restore confidence in Hong Kong, entitled "Rose Garden", which included the construction of a new world-class airport and related infrastructural work, and the hastening of the pace of democratisation, unfortunately turned out to be counter-productive and induced the collapse of Sino-British talks. Beijing was particularly hostile towards the constitutional reform package introduced by the last Governor, Chris Patten, a package which would have given more autonomy to the locals. The Chinese government abandoned Patten's "through-train" proposal and sought to manage the territory's transition without British participation. Its determination was made explicit by its declaration of intention to set up a "second stove", which was practically a pro-Beijing centre of power built up first by the appointment of "Hong Kong advisers" from among sympathisers and supporters. There followed the establishment of the Preparatory Committee, which drew up the names of the 400-member Selection Committee that would recommend the candidate for appointment as the first Chief Executive, who would, in turn, form the post-colonial government. The aim was to supplant the pro-British social and political elites and ultimately to dismantle the British constitutional influence immediately after the handover, thus taking over the control over Hong Kong and its affairs.

The home of the Hongkongers had been ceded to Britain willy-nilly, in return for—it would have required great prescience to have predicted the outcome—shelter from the mayhem on the hinterland. For the territory, this also resulted in the transformation of the war-torn, non-performing post-World War II economy into one of the foremost trading entities in the modern world. When Hongkongers finally

managed, as a result of this transformation, to stand on their own two feet in the 1980s, the hope of home redemption was then dashed by the tumultuous changes occurring over the two decades up until the handover, and by the subsequent reversion of sovereignty to China. Their home having changed hands, Hongkongers were reduced to being perpetual "tenants". They could not aspire to ownership of the territory; they could never be masters of their own home where they were born and grew up. Hong Kong would remain forever a colony, as scholars argue that the handover does not represent decolonisation, but simply the replacement of British colonialism by Chinese colonialism (Scott 1995: 189; Chow 1998b).

Sense of belonging

According to Said, nationalism may be reduced to the sense of belonging: "an assertion of *belonging in and to* a place, a people, a heritage", which also "affirms the home created by a community of language, culture, and customs" (2001: 176; my italics). Sense of belonging is also about membership. Could the Hong Kong membership be sustained as a set in its own right, or would it be relegated to being a subset of China after a century of British colonial rule? If someone refers to himself as belonging to Hong Kong, what exactly does this mean? How can Hong Kong come to terms with the hegemonies of Britain and China? Should they be absorbed or abandoned? Such a confused membership once again renders the concept of "Hong Kong as home" fuzzy and unreliable. To understand this a little more clearly, it might be helpful if we were to look briefly at the arguments of Homi Bhabha, which begin with the recognition that there is "no necessary or eternal belongingness" (Bhabha 1994: 179). In an intuitive and everyday sense we think of our identities, whether ethnic or national or of any other form, as pre-given and stable facts of our lives. For

Bhabha, however, this comfortable feeling of the self-sufficiency of traditions, or of national or personal identity, masks the tangled and ambiguous processes by which cultures are represented (1990: i). A sense of belonging is indeed nurtured, temporary and changeable. What makes people "Hongkongers" cannot be related to essentialist or absolutist notions of nation or culture. At the very least it is clear that Hongkongers could no longer comfortably hold on to the notion of a closed territorial culture, complete within and for itself. In other words, a sense of belonging to Hong Kong should imply multiple affiliations.

In a survey conducted in 1985, Lau and Kuan (1988: 2) found that a large proportion (nearly 60 per cent) of their respondents identified themselves as "Hongkongers", when asked to select their primary identity. Only 36 per cent regarded themselves as primarily "Chinese". The 1988 social indicators survey shows similar figures. About 63.6 per cent of the respondents identified themselves as Hongkongers, while only 28.8 per cent regarded themselves as primarily Chinese (Lau *et al*. 1991: 177). However, by 1990 the recognition for the Hong Kong identity appeared to have receded, as revealed by Siu-lun Wong's survey (1995: 167–68). In response to the question, "When considering your identity, do you regard yourself first of all as a Chinese or a Hong Kong person?", 48.4 per cent of the sample chose to identify themselves as Hongkongers. A nearly equal proportion, some 45.9 per cent, regarded themselves as primarily Chinese. At the same time, in the same survey, when asked to indicate the strength of their attachment to Hong Kong, 38.6 per cent described their sense of belonging as strong, 52.3 per cent as average and 6.6 per cent as weak. From this we may deduce that a distinct Hong Kong identity was in the making in the 1980s, with a growing and significant proportion of the respondents identifying themselves as "Hongkongers".

As the time of the handover approached, a strong and urgent discourse of belonging, in the form of nationalism (or its more sentimental variation, patriotism), was advocated by the Chinese Communist government, which vied with or threatened to overshadow the tendency towards multiple affiliations of the Hong Kong identity. Hong Kong was supposed to be incorporated into China, the motherland, and become a member of the big Chinese family. The question is: how did Hongkongers make sense of this new "home" which suddenly loomed large and seemed set to overshadow their own? When it came to identification, Hong Kong might have comfortably kept Britain at bay, regarding it as a mere administrator; the relationship was more functional than emotional. Occasionally things British, such as football, horse-racing, fashion, classical literature like Shakespearean drama, would strike a chord with the Hongkongers, but these things also similarly fascinated people in other parts of the world. China presented itself as an opposite case. The Sino-Hong Kong relationship was initially more emotional than functional. However, the territory continued to swing from one side to another, sometimes in favour of Britain, sometimes over to the Chinese side. With ethnic, regional, linguistic and cultural links, Hongkongers have been able to find various occasions to confirm, express and sometimes even forge their own brand of Chineseness. David Faure (1997: 105) succinctly describes this Chineseness as "ideology and religion", just like "what Christendom was to the West." Although he is here referring to the pre-1997 situation, this description remains apt even after the handover. Faure distinguishes between a cultural and a political China; one might be culturally Chinese without necessarily embracing the Chinese regime on the mainland:

> Like most people in most places, Hong Kong people wanted to be left alone to get on with their lives. Unlike most people in most places, they were faced with the certainty of a sharp break in their political culture. … However, from 1 July 1997 when sovereignty returns to China, Hong

> Kong people will be not only Chinese by culture by also by nationality. They will find a government that has every right to claim not only the right to rule but the right to demand and debate in the name of Chinese culture and identity. Integrating Hong Kong into China has required the Hong Kong Chinese people to come to the realization that politics does matter. It does matter because in the context of nationalism, the central element in political culture is not respect for tradition but patriotism. (Faure 1997: 117)

Wong Siu-lun's survey (1995: 168) offers additional and complementary angles on the interpretation of Chineseness. Close to two thirds of the respondents emphasised the racial meaning of being Chinese. About a quarter of the answers equated Chineseness with being a Hong Kong Chinese. 11.2 per cent chose the meaning of Chinese by culture while only 3 per cent embraced the notion of Chinese by political affiliation either to the People's Republic or to the Taiwanese government. As unchangeable facts, ethnic affinity and geographical proximity buttress the idea of the Chineseness of Hongkongers, as supposed by Faure and confirmed by Wong's survey. What is noteworthy is that the political connotations attached to the Hong Kong Chinese identity were weak, and this may to a certain extent account for the fickleness of the Hong Kong identity, and possibly gave rise to conflicts of interest between Hong Kong and China. The same survey by Wong (1995) also reveals that Hongkongers predicted that there would be clashes and incongruities between Hong Kong and China, with the majority of the respondents (11.6 and 54.2 per cent respectively) either strongly agreeing or agreeing with the view that there were fundamental conflicts of interest between China and Hong Kong.

Since 1997, there have been visible signs of change: the growing use of Chinese and Putonghua in everyday and government affairs, the push to make English language schools teach in Chinese, the broadcasting of the Chinese national anthem before prime time news every evening, etc. In addition to the government's vigour in promoting nationalism, the media, owned for the most part by tycoons with huge

business interests on the mainland, have turned around to depict China, mainlanders and things Chinese in a more positive light than before (Wong 1995: 95–107). However, the Communist state, with its espousal of Marxism-Leninism and its many cultural icons such as the five-star red flag and the People's Liberation Army (made less than glamorous by the Tiananmen Square Incident), is considered "un-Chinese" and even "uncivilized" (Mathews, Ma and Lui 2008: 104). All this propaganda and symbolism appeared to many as nationalistic hard-sell and sent the pointer into a flutter, as if between two magnetic poles—when it pointed to the home position, that is, Hong Kong as an entity in its own right, it would inevitably be repelled and drawn to the Chinese side, and when it was located on the Chinese side, it would be attracted back to the Hong Kong side. This push-and-pull cycle went on and on, and contributed to the capriciousness in Hong Kong identity.

Homeless at Home

The concept of "Hong Kong as home" involves a bundle of suppositions: that Hong Kong is almost an independent entity in its own right (although this hinges on Beijing's rather dubious promise of considerable autonomy and "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong"); that China is a long lost "parent" now reunited with its offspring, its culture assimilated with that of Hong Kong without major incongruities (or the other way round); that Hong Kong is home, albeit effectively owned and governed by non-Hongkongers. Yet the reality suggests otherwise. The identity discourse of Hong Kong is a wobbly proposition; it is no more than a belief that "I am a Hongkonger" without anything solid to support it, except for the official documents that prove an individual's physical existence in the territory: e.g., birth certificate, identity card or passport, the latter being something of which many

Hongkongers might have several. Ask any Hongkonger, especially those of the post-war generations, and they would not hesitate to claim Hong Kong as the base for their life and work, but would dither over the issue of whether they own this home and whether or not it feels like home. These peculiarities give rise to a very different type of mentality: one that can perhaps be termed "homelessness at home", not in the traditional meaning of the non-existence of a home as a residence, but in the sense that the place of residence does not feel like home for the Hongkongers, owing to the fact that they have been deprived of the sense of ownership and belongingness. Hongkongers are starting to doubt whether having a single home base is actually a good idea, and to think that it might be better to have more than one. The hopes invested in self-determination have been brutally trampled underfoot by new formations of mainland Chinese hegemony and the tenacious hold on power of the local business sector, which cherishes the China connection as a highway to international trade. An exclusive territorialism no longer seems to be a vehicle for any kind of historical or sociocultural progress. To quote Theodor Adorno's (1978: 39) ironic comment, "it is part of morality not to be at home in one's home." Such a mentality does not imply that Hongkongers might have discarded the territory both physically and emotionally. On the contrary, their sense of home is predicated on the existence of, love for and bond with their native place; what is true is that home and love of home are to a certain extent "lost", but that loss is inherent in the very existence of both. The concept of home is in fact a suspicious abstraction.

The basic organising principle around which the notion of home is built is a pattern of selective inclusions and exclusions. Home is a way of drawing a line between those within and those without, and of establishing a distance between "us" and "them". China's resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong necessitates the

political inclusion of the territory into Communist China. Geographical proximity is an unchangeable fact, yet ideological immersion is what many Hongkongers are against. Beijing and the pro-Beijing camps in Hong Kong appear to have adopted an aggressive propaganda war for a monolithic pan-China identity, which advocates the principle of a single culture and narrative, while Hong Kong, owing to its colonial history, is aware of at least two. This plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that—to borrow a phrase from music—is *polyphonic*. In colonial times, Hongkongers' individual identities were predicated on their racial difference from the English coloniser, but with China that identity becomes invisible precisely because the difference is not only unseen but also non-existent. Indeed, to lose that racial distinctiveness (there is no way to escape one's ethnicity), and worse still, the more important sociocultural dissimilarity (that is—if a little generalisation is allowed here—the Westernised, modernised capitalist lifestyle of Hong Kong), is for Hongkongers to lose their Self, to watch it dissolve without a trace. Hongkongers are not exactly mainland Chinese—they only look similar—and the erasure of differences might entail a loss of individuality. Yet, insofar as the Self that China threatens grows out of its distinctiveness, Hongkongers' very individuality is dependent on their membership of the Chinese race and shaped by their colonial past, and these factors inevitably determine how they are and will be, quite literally, seen by other parts of the world. So China has become for Hongkongers both definitive but impossible, and inescapable yet highly relevant. Having said that, the dominance of a Chinese grand narrative would shake the subject-status of Hong Kong. Hong Kong runs the risk of disappearing as an indistinguishable component; however, the precariousness of the territory's identity heightens Hongkongers' awareness of their differences from mainland Chinese, which forms the basis of their burgeoning subjectivity. To retain such vital differences,

a Hong Kong identity must insist on immunity from hegemonic, homogenising ideologies like Chinese nationalism.[2] While Beijing's nationalist propaganda narrates one story—to follow the rhetoric of home—Hongkongers seek to fortify their home through tangential locations. The construction of an autonomous Self would involve a simultaneous acceptance and rejection not only of China but of the terms in which the world sees them. Home has become a place to escape to and a place to escape from.

Recent interdisciplinary studies on Hong Kong have been working towards a deconstruction of various traditional dialectal pairs: the private and the public spheres; the British coloniser and the colonised; Beijing and the Hong Kong SAR; Hong Kong and the rest of the world. Here, some binary pairs are essential for the purposes of definition. As the home, from a modernist perspective at least, signifies the ideal of a primordial unitariness, it is epistemologically already the product of a binary opposition, the opposition between "myself" or "ourselves" (as one unit) and the hostile world outside (Chow 2004: 135). The home is defined in instances of confrontation with what is considered "not-home", with distance, with the foreign. A sense of "home" develops in the early stages, to borrow Said's (2000: 176) words, from a "condition of estrangement" of the groups separated from what was construed as their rightful way of life. Such an estrangement may enable what Mikhail Bakhtin calls an "exotopy", a vision from the "outside" that overcomes the limitations of a point of view situated "inside" a particular locale or culture:

> In order to understand, it is immensely important for the person who understands to be located outside the object of his or her creative understanding—in time, in space, in culture. … In the realm of culture, outsideness is a most powerful factor in understanding. It is only in the eyes of another culture that foreign culture reveals itself more fully and profoundly (but not maximally fully, because there will be cultures that see and understand even more.) (Bakhtin 1986: 7)

More than half a century has passed since Bahktin made these observations, and exotopy may no longer have the same meaning and validity. Culturally speaking, it is harder today to delineate where "in" and "out" are: in a world of interdependencies or within the intertexts of cultural "imaginaries", can there be an outside? Timothy Weiss (2004: 83) suggests it might be more accurate to translate the term "exotopy" as "to the side" rather than as "outside". Weiss proposed that this re-translation may explain better the situation of Hong Kong, which consistently positions itself *to the side* of the dominant Chinese culture and of world culture as a whole: first, while its ethnic, linguistic and geopolitical link with China cannot be denied, Hong Kong does not consider itself as an insider *per se*, but as an entity that stands at one remove. Second, the territory relies heavily on a broad cultural imagination that cuts across and includes trans-cultural elements. It mixes things Eastern and Western but not without a certain scepticism and pragmatism; it often transforms imported elements and adapts them to the local situation.

This position on the sidelines implies a loss of stable *being* in the homeland. The state of homelessness at home brings about isolation and displacement, which generate a sense of insecurity that in turn resists all efforts at centring, amelioration and acculturation. Hongkongers are not so concerned with settling for a single "home" as with the search for viable homes for viable selves, that is, a pursuit of multiple bases and multiple identities. As a result, they become inhabitants of the in-between space. There are no set centres, definite horizons, or clear limits to things. Everything is becoming border-space. Hongkongers have to be mobile, both geographically and culturally, in order to expand and challenge the horizons of their homes, imaginatively and conceptually. By becoming mobile and by making sense of this mobility, Hongkongers escape the control of states and national borders, as well

as the limited, linear ways of understanding themselves which Beijing promotes and imposes on its citizens. As people move, the cultural centre also moves, not in any specific direction, but in a diffusing outward spread. They even make a fetish of such mobility, a practice that distances them from all connections and commitments, and make it a vital feature of their identity.

Other Homes than Home

Home provides us with essential, and arguably the most significant, identity discourses—for example, family, nationality, race—which are considered given, natural and unquestionable. They are often obvious reference points to take in our study of an identity web. However, such comfortable assumptions about identity, with their sense of coherence and integrity, although necessary, are insufficient conditions for identity, and are potentially problematised by sociocultural changes. As Kobena Mercer remarks: "Identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty" (1990: 43). The question in the case of Hong Kong is: How do the people in the territory make sense of their identity in such a crisis as a "homeless at home" situation?

In *The World, The Text and The Critic*, Edward Said (1983: 200) draws a distinction between the two kinds of affinity that an individual can hold, namely "filiation" and "affiliation". He calls "filiation" the ties that an individual has with places and people that are based on his or her natal culture: that is, ties of biology and geography. In other words, home provides the basis of our filiative scheme. "Affiliations", which are what come to replace filiations, are links that are forged

with institutions, associations, communities and other social creations. The filiative scheme belongs to the realm of nature and life, whereas the affiliative belongs to culture and society. The movement is always from filiations to affiliations. This replacement of one type of ties with the other is "a passage from nature to culture" (Harlow 1987: 22). Suppose home is the centre of identity politics, there are simultaneously centripetal and centrifugal forces at work, as people want to stay at the same time close to and away from home, especially when the original home is inadequate in satisfying one's desire for a reliable basis for constructing subjectivity. There is an urgent need to overshadow or even replace the filiative scheme with a new affiliative scheme, over which people may have greater discretion.

Homelessness-at-home is thus a state of anarchy, as well as a site of contestation where identity discourses vie for priority and importance. The identity web thus becomes unstable, fragmented and contingent. Susceptible to the influence of "alien" identity discourses, it may spread its antennae beyond the home and actively seek to acquire more affiliations. In other words, it increases its exposure to Others, filtering and absorbing differences into the identity web. Given that home is a territory in a geographical and psychological sense, the dwindling significance of home as the prime identity provider leads to "deterritorialisation" (Papastergiadis 2000:115), which involves a process of detaching social and cultural practices from a specific space, thereby blurring the natural relationship between the people and their geographic territories.

For Hong Kong, the idea of the territory as home can no longer be conceived as reflecting a coherent and distinct identity. Instead, the idea of the territory as home is "spread across considerable distances and redefined through exchange across multiple geopolitical and cultural borders" (Papastergiadis 2000:116). There is a need

to "reterritorialise" (115)—to establish affiliations, to fill the gaps that result from the decoupling of physical location and cultural identity, and to re-imagine the possibilities of establishing a larger, stronger home. Deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation are conjoined, with the latter occurring immediately after the former. As a result, the notion of home is situated in multiple locations, and images of home become ambivalent. There is more than one home, and each home takes on more or less importance at different times.

Identity Translation

The ownership of more than one home, as well the ease of moving between different homes, may offer some comfort and security in a "homeless-at-home" situation, yet no one can be in two places at once. Naturally, one may wish to reduce the distance and enhance the coherence among various homes, so that the identity web can be stable yet remain lively. Here I propose the term "identity translation" as a means to rationalize the changes brought about by the encounter with the foreign, including the introduction of new discourses, the disposal of existing discourses, as well as the transformation of existing discourses into completely new discourses. The idea of "translation" is adopted in order to emphasise the border-crossing nature of the process. The meaning of the word "translation" can be extended beyond the transfer of texts and textual elements between languages (cultures, literatures), as re-defined by Clem Robyns as "the *migration* and *transformation* of discursive elements between different discourses" (Robyns 1994: 408; my italics). Translation provides the agency and mobility vital for the deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation of identity constructs, as it necessitates the explicit confrontation with the non-identical, and legitimatises the continuous conflicts with the Other

which characterise the construction of the self. Translation also involves, in varying degrees, an acknowledgement and an adjustment of the Otherness of (potentially) intruding elements from other discourses, the process of which may subsequently destabilise and deconstruct the original construct. Robyns (1994: 406–7) suggests that such interferences come in two ways. First, within a culture or discursive practice, there is an awareness of a common identity and a striving towards preservation of this identity. If identity is constructed in opposition to the alien, interferences imply loss of autonomy and thereby loss of identity. Second, the shared conventions, which make the internal functioning of the identity web possible, are often implicit. Their self-evident legitimacy may come under threat by the intrusion of "alien", convention-violating elements. In either case, an identity discourse is continually forced to determine its position(s) towards alien elements. The fixity and security of the original identity construct is shaken, as it becomes a more free-floating sphere for discursive elements, where boundaries are continually recomposed and redefined. Different reactions are possible, giving rise to a kaleidoscopic picture of identity construction.

One may recall Stuart Hall's exposition in which he describes cultural identity as a kind of hybrid and the result of the process of social transformation, where ideas, world views and other forces interact (1988: 5). Unsatisfied with the notion of one unitary identity, Hall also elucidates the identity politics of a postmodern subject, who contains and assumes different identities at different times, giving rise to a state of constant flux (Hall 1992: 277; Barker 2005: 224). Gilbert Fong takes this idea one step further, proposing "suspension of identities" as a Self-construction strategy in the case of Hong Kong. Given their unique history and multiple loyalties, Hongkongers are men and women of many masks, "but the mask is concealment and

has a false ring to it, and with the suspension of identities, the part which is not suspended actually belongs to and resides in itself" (Fong 2008). Almost everything is afloat. A temporary stabilisation of subject positions can come about only when a certain constituent identity discourse rises to prominence and thus leaves others in a state of dormancy. Identity translation, seen in this light, is neither a mere rearrangement of discourses, nor a process of transformation which produces a new discourse at the margins, but is also a process of superimposition, in which the original discourse is topped up with another discourse. The new identity web is inevitably a mosaic of original and newly acquired identity discourses.

Therefore, identity translation can be defined as the transposition of foreign identity discourses onto the identity web of the Self, with the ramifications of migration, transformation and appropriation. In the process the Self-identity discourses are suspended and displaced, and the imported discourses are fitted, appropriated and sometimes transformed. Identity translation is not the mere replacement of one identity discourse with another, as changes are bound to take place. Thus it is not the kind of translation defined by John C. Catford as "the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in other language (TL)" (1965:20). Identity translation is more than just "copy-and-paste". It may begin as borrowing or intentional cloning; yet exact replication is unattainable, since changes inevitably occur after the interaction between the foreign identity discourse and existing discourses. The foreign identity discourse in question will only serve as a reference that informs the construction of a new identity discourse, which may bear a remarkable resemblance to the foreign identity. The new identity discourse subsequently formed may not always aim for, to use Nida's (1964: 159) term, "dynamic equivalence", as the new discourse may not

entirely cater to Hongkongers' needs and cultural expectations, nor may it always aim for naturalness. The imported discourse is not always localised. On the other hand, identity translation is not Nida's "formal equivalence" (1964: 159) either. The priority is not necessarily to match the imported discourses as closely as possible to the various elements in the foreign discourse.

Emigration is not uncommon throughout the history of Hong Kong.[4] In a basic translation model, there are three main elements: the source text, the translator and the target text. Suppose some Hongkongers emigrate to Canada and settle down to a new life there, the case may become an identity translation model. As in the basic translation model, it consists of three main elements, namely: the Hongkong-Chinese who emigrate to Canada as the translator, the source text of a supposedly genuine Canadian identity, and the target text, which is a Canadian-Hongkong-Chinese identity. When Hongkongers emigrate to Canada, they acquire a Canadian identity; yet they are unlike "native" Canadians, for the simple reason that they can neither undo nor rewrite their personal history. They are not able to replicate a Canadian identity; at most they can only imitate the Canadian identity discourse as closely as possible, extracting new affiliations (e.g., Canadian passport holder, English/French speaker, North American lifestyle) from the Canadian identity, while their filiations remain unchanged or unchangeable (e.g., Hongkong-born, ethnic Chinese). Put in another way, the Canadian identity discourse, after being translated, cannot be an equivalent, but is added as a new affiliation to the basket of the Hong Kong identity, thereby expanding the latter's scope.

The number of affiliations added and the intensity of assimilation vary from individual to individual. Some immigrants immerse themselves in Canadian society, adopt the Canadian lifestyle to the full, and even become more "Canadian" than

Canadians. They tend to superimpose the Canadian identity onto their original Hongkong-Chinese identity and suppress the latter. Their new identities are like source-oriented translations, in that they are designed to resemble the Canadian identity as closely as possible. On the other hand, some immigrants may remain largely Hongkong-Chinese, living and working in Chinatown, speaking Cantonese most of the time, with some even refusing to learn English or French. They simply live in Canada without quite conforming to the Canadian socioculture. It cannot be said that their overall identity has not changed at all, for there are obviously new affiliations in their identity baskets. These emigrants can be compared to translations which strive to retain as many of the qualities of the input material as possible, so that they have less of a Canadian identity and more of a Hongkong-Chinese identity transplanted to Canada. In both cases, a new translated identity comes into being. These new identities also add to the Canadian cultural mosaic.

When we talk about the Hong Kong identity, we do not consider the term "Hong Kong" as a definitive feature of the identity. The term "Hong Kong", as a qualifier of the identity in question, refers more to the positionality than the substances of the identity. Instead, it is a common denominator that links up a multitude of identity discourses and determines the initial equilibrium, and with this denominator we can then conduct longitudinal and latitudinal studies of the identity. It is a reference point from which we may examine both the internal and external biospheres: the relationship of "Hong Kong" with other constituent discourses, which are in constant competition for weightings and priorities; as well as with the identity discourses currently lying outside, which may or may not be accepted into the identity basket. The boundary between what is considered "home" and the outside, again, is not fixed. The so-called Hong Kong Identity, as a combination of

various identity discourses, is a flexible construct, expandable and contractable through changing the arrangement and number of its constituents. It is also an organic grid system, with the identity discourses occupying different coordinates and incessantly interacting with each other, thereby altering the internal equilibrium.

NOTES

1. According to the 1988 *Indicators of Social Development Survey* conducted by the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong, more than half of the respondents believed that after Hong Kong's return to China in 1997, there would be a reduction in civil rights and individual liberty, a decline in living standards and a deterioration in the legal system. When asked if they trusted the Hong Kong government, the British government and the Chinese government, 48 per cent were prepared to say that they either trusted or strongly trusted the Hong Kong government, 30 per cent said they also trusted or strongly trusted the British government, but only 21 per cent said that they trusted or strongly trusted the Chinese government. Most respondents remained reluctant to face the impending change in Hong Kong's status. Seventy per cent of the respondents agreed with the statement: "Some people say, 'Though Hong Kong's political system is not perfect, it's already the best under the existing circumstances'". When asked whether they wanted the Hong Kong government to "become democratic or authoritarian", 71 per cent of the respondents said they wanted the Hong Kong government to be democratic, but when asked if they supported the formation of political parties in Hong Kong, only some 25 per cent were in favour, 50 per cent were opposed and 25 per cent gave no definite answer (Lau, Lee, Wan and Wong 1991).

2. It is important to note that it is not being suggested here that Hong Kong has always been antagonistic to Chinese culture. In fact, there is abundant literature on Chinese writers seeking refuge in Hong Kong at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, and other aspects of Hong Kong's involvement in China's history and literature, all of which is indicative of the part Hong Kong has played in Chinese culture (see, for example, Lu 1987 and Fok 1990).

3. In response to the Black Saturday crisis in 1983, the linked exchange rate system was adopted in Hong Kong on 17 October 1983 through the currency board system, in order to stabilise the exchange rate between the Hong Kong dollar (HKD) and the United States dollar (USD). The Hong Kong Monetary Authority (HKMA), Hong Kong's *de facto* central

bank, authorised note-issuing banks to issue banknotes. These banks are required to have the same amount of USD to issued HKD banknotes. The HKMA guarantees to exchange USD into HKD, or vice versa, at the rate of 7.80 USD to 1 HKD. The Macao pataca (MOP) is similarly linked to the Hong Kong dollar. Unlike a fixed exchange rate system, the government or central bank does not actively interfere in the foreign exchange market by controlling supply and demand of the currency in order to influence the exchange rate.

4. If we focus on the post-Second World War period, there have been three periods of more pronounced emigration. The first was a steady outflow from the early 1950s which persisted to the late 1970s; the second was a short, sharp wave of a very different type in the early 1970s; and the third occurred in the decade leading up to the return of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 (Skeldon 1997: 124). From the 1980s onwards, Steve Tsang (1997: 79) argues, despite an impressive record in the previous decade, the British administration in Hong Kong began to fall short of the expectations of the local Chinese. Because of the announcement of Sino-British negotiations over Hong Kong, politics was taken more seriously in the territory than ever before; issues related to democracy, in particular, stirred up fierce controversy for the first time in the territory's colonial history. The British government's 1984 declaration of its intention to "build up a firmly-based, democratic administration in Hong Kong in the years between now and 1997" (*House of Commons Debates*, vol. 69, no. 23, p. 471; *ibid.*, 79) was vigorously denounced by the Chinese leaders (e.g., Deng Xiaoping) and China's representative in Hong Kong, Xu Jiatun 許家屯, who together explicitly forbade the introduction of democracy involving direct elections in Hong Kong. The balloon of hope for democracy, supposed to dovetail the self-determination of the Hong Kong cohorts, inflated rapidly and then burst just as rapidly. The increasing anxiety about the transition to Chinese sovereignty was the major factor among several others (for instance, better education, better quality of life, relaxation of immigration policies by Western countries as a result of the recession in the 1980s) that triggered off an exodus of the Hong Kong population from 1980 to 1997. In a diligent attempt to tally the demographic data of Hong Kong and various other countries, Skeldon (1997: 121–34) points out that this out-movement accelerated after 1986 from around 19,000 per annum to reach over 60,000 within four years, and it remained at that level for many years. There were around 585,000 Hong Kong people living overseas in the 1990s, or between 10 and 11 per cent of the total resident population at that time, which was a fairly substantial proportion. According to the 1990 (or 1991, depending on individual countries) round of censuses, Canada, Australia and the United States were the top three most popular destinations. The stock of Hong Kong-born residents counted in these three countries was around 360,000, or about 6 per cent of Hong Kong's population at the time. New Zealand, the United Kingdom and Singapore were of medium importance. The combined total of Hong Kong immigrants in these areas was

close to 65,000. There were unquestionably many other destinations to which migrants from Hong Kong moved but these were all minor, with a few thousand people at most going, for example, to South Africa. The exception would be China itself, with perhaps 20,000 people a year going from Hong Kong to China in the early 1990s, the majority of whom were Guangdong-born Hongkongers returning home after retirement.

Chapter 2

PLAY IT AGAIN

Background and Statistical Analysis of Translated Plays

This chapter presents an analysis of the statistics of theatre translation in Hong Kong during the period 1980–2007, i.e., from the beginning of the Sino-British negotiations on Hong Kong's sovereignty to a decade after the 1997 handover. The purpose is to plot the trend of theatre translation and to draw a map of Hong Kong's identity politics through theatre translation, with a focus on the local-foreign relationship and identity borrowing. One of the central questions articulated by identity politics in Hong Kong is the interaction between the Self and the Other.

In Chapter 1, we postulated that in theatre translation, *translation* denotes a multipronged change, involving a shift from one language and culture to another, and consequently, a transformation from one identity discourse to another. Each translated text is a fragment of one's subjectivity, a glimpse into one's home: how one situates oneself among various languages and cultures in the world. The selection of texts to be translated, the mode chosen to (re)present, project, or re-invent the source text, the manner in which translation generally is circumscribed and regulated at a particular historical moment, and the way in which individual translations are received all tell us a great deal about the cultural community engaged in the translation. If the vista of the original home is opaque and unstable, making studies on subjectivity difficult, peeping into the foreign

through the lens of theatre translation may offer us with a mirror image of the home, provided we think of it as an image reflected in a "kaleidoscopic, distorting mirror" (Niranjana 1992: 81). This mirror image reflects not only the foreign sphere, but also the "home" one perceives or wishes it to be. Owing to its bilateral nature, translation tells us about both the Other and the Self, and we have to ask the questions: when such a mirror is held up to the foreign or the local, what does it aim to reflect? how accurate or distorting are the mirror images? and what are the motivations behind the various ways in which the "mirror" (the translated drama) is being used?

Theatre translation is not the only method of studying subjectivity, nor is it the only translation genre in Hong Kong. Translation has always been important in the territory. As a rule, most documents in government and business sectors are bilingual. Yet literary translation has not been as prolific in this respect. Translations of prose, fiction and poetry are sparse. More often they are imported from mainland China and Taiwan rather than produced locally. There are many scholarly studies on individual books and writers, but there are few which examine translations of a single genre as a literary phenomenon. There is little information about readership and market share (i.e., how many of the literary publications are original and how many are translated) of literary works in Hong Kong. Drama, on the other hand, stands out as the literary genre that relies most heavily on translations. According to our statistics, close to one fifth of the drama productions put on in Hong Kong between 1980 and 2007 were translated plays. If translation in general shows us a picture of interactions between the local and the foreign, theatre translation reveals more clearly the manner in which the local actually engages with the foreign. As a combination of speeches and actions, stage performances are

meant to be immediately understandable to theatre practitioners as well as audiences, which makes the direct borrowing of play scripts (original and translated) from Taiwan and mainland China difficult. In other words, translation for the Hong Kong stage should best be done by and for the local people, thereby revealing more clearly the local voice and the local image through the foreign play scripts.

Before the 1980s: When Translated Theatre Began

Performances of translated drama first started in Hong Kong as an extra-curricular activity at schools run by the colonial government. In 1901, *The Yellow Dragon*, a newsletter published by students of Queen's College, posted articles introducing Shakespearean drama. In 1912, a teacher by the name of Jiang Qifai 江其輝 set up the Queen's College Amateur Association (QCAA) and organised several charity performances of translated plays. The QCAA staged three Shakespearean plays (probably excerpts) for the Prince of Wales Fund in 1915, including Huang Yichu's 黃益初 translations of *The Merchant of Venice* (金債肉償 *Jinzhai rouchang* [Debts of gold repaid with flesh]) and *Romeo and Juliet* (仇情劫 *Chouqing jie* [The tragedy of feud and love], as well as Bao Yizhuang's 鮑以庄 adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew* (悍婦回頭 *Hanfu huitou* [The shrew regrets her faults]). This series of Shakespearean sketches represented the first performances of translated drama ever recorded in Hong Kong.

Since its cession to Great Britain in 1841, Hong Kong has undergone three major periods of fluctuation and change in terms of its relationship with China and the rest of the world. The swing between nation and de-nation, the inward and

outward pull of cultural and sociopolitical orientations, has played an important part in the making of "Hongkongness" today. During the period from 1841 to 1949, Hong Kong was one of the most important cities in the Pearl River Delta in southern China. There was free-flowing traffic in population, trade, cultural and political activities. The border between Hong Kong and China was open and people and goods could move freely in and out of the colony. With economic expansion, more and more Chinese came to settle in Hong Kong, and ties with the mainland were strengthened with increasing trade and movement of goods. Hong Kong also became a haven for Chinese people fleeing wars and other disasters. According to Gilbert Fong, the period between 1841 and 1949 was one of "nationalisation" (2006), in which people in Hong Kong felt they were all "Chinese", though under different jurisdictions, and there was no ambiguity as to the identity of the residents and where their allegiance lay.

In the theatre, thespians tended to lean towards the newly emerged spoken drama in China. Plays by contemporary Chinese playwrights such as Cao Yu 曹禺, Guo Moruo 郭沫若 and Tian Han 田漢 were popular. Chinese period pieces were often adapted for the stage; for instance, Li Jueben's 黎覺奔 *The Orphan of Zhao* 趙氏孤兒 (*Zhaoshi gu'er*) and *Dream of the Red Chamber* 紅樓夢 (*Houlou meng*), Yao Ke's 姚克 *The Beauty Xishi* 西施 and *Emperor Qin* 秦始皇 (*Qin shihuang*), Hu Chunbing's 胡春冰 *Li Taibai* 李太白, and Liu Cunren's 柳存仁 *The Bandit Queen Red Dust* 紅拂 (*Hongfu*) and *Nirvana* 涅槃 (*Niepan*). On the one hand, period costumes and settings had strong entertainment appeal for audiences. On the other hand, historical themes and characters also afforded a kind of "political shelter" for the dramatists during the decades of social unrest and government censorship (Chen Liyin 2009: 76–81). Before 1949, productions of translated drama were few and far between,

with an average of less than one production every year. In some years, there were no productions of translated drama at all (see Chart 2.1). Most productions were amateurish and small-scale affairs staged in schools and community halls. The playwrights included Shakespeare, Oscar Wilde, Nikolai Gogol, Maxim Gorky, René Fauchois and Jean-Baptiste de Poquelin (Molière).

The rise in popularity of translated plays in the early 1950s was characteristic of the outreaching disposition of Hong Kong at that time. The establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 was a turning point, marking the severance of ties with mainland China and a diminishing of the inclination of Hong Kong people to identify themselves as Chinese nationals. Traffic between Hong Kong and the mainland was restricted when the border was closed in 1950 after the Communists took over China. The distance between the Hong Kong Chinese and the mainland was also widened by political conditions on the world stage. The Cold War between the Soviet bloc and the West and China's involvement in the Korean War put a barrier, known as the Bamboo Curtain, between China and the rest of the world at the time. Hong Kong, as a British colony, had to follow the foreign policy of Great Britain and take part in the embargo against China.

This alienation from the Chinese hinterland brought about a cultural void in Hong Kong, which the United States quickly strove to fill. In the 1950s, the American government launched "the greenback movement", which continued through the 1960s. The aim of this movement was "to prevent the penetration of Communism and to promote American culture and literature" in Asia, including Hong Kong (Liu Denghan 1999: 201). One of the measures they introduced was the setting up of sponsorship of pro-American publications through the Asia Foundation, which was in fact funded by Washington. Publishing houses such as

the Youlian chubanshe 友聯出版社, Renren chubanshe 人人出版社 and Daily Global Publisher 今日世界出版社 were keen to commission and publish Chinese translations of American literature.[1] The greenback movement brought about a preference for things American and Western among young writers and students, and indirectly contributed to the rise of translated plays in the mid-1960s.

The Chinese Drama Group (中文戲劇組 [Zhongwen xiju zu] of the Chinese English Club [中英學會 Zhong Ying xuehui]), established in 1952, was the most active in mounting translated plays. According to Bao Hanlin 鮑漢琳, a famous actor and translator, after 1955 the Chinese Drama Group would stage a Chinese period drama and two other performances every year, usually translated plays. Throughout the 1960s the Education Department organised annual inter-school drama competitions. Since this was the Cold War period, plays written by Chinese playwrights were frowned upon by government officials. For schools participating in the drama competitions, staging translations of Western plays was a prudent and safe choice (Bao 1998: 15–17).

The gulf between Hong Kong and China was further widened during and after the riots of 1966–1967. In early April 1966, a protest against a 10-cent fare increase by Star Ferry, at the time the major cross-harbour route between Hong Kong Island and the Kowloon peninsula, developed into protest marches and riots involving labour unionists. The leftists in the colony seized the opportunity to incite the populace to challenge the British occupation of Hong Kong, aiming to bring the colonial government to its knees and reclaim Hong Kong as a Chinese territory. Waving Chairman Mao's little red book of quotations in the style of the Cultural Revolution, they organised demonstrations and strikes, planted home-made bombs and engaged in confrontations with the police. The final tally was 51 dead, 800

injured and 5,000 arrested (Ma 1999: 27). In the beginning, participation in the protests was not limited to Communist supporters, but it quickly turned into an insurgency, and when the riots, with their violence and bombs, threatened the livelihood of the people, whatever sympathies the Communist supporters had previously generated quickly evaporated.

Despite the 1967 riot, the local economy took a gradual turn for the better in the late 1960s. With improved living standards, Hongkongers started to put forward demands for culture and entertainment (Liu Denghan 1999: 207–08). There was a great need for play scripts, but there were few playwrights (notably Yao Ke, Hu Chunbing, Xiong Shiyi 熊式一 and Li Yuanhua 李援華). There were not enough original plays to satisfy the demand, so theatre practitioners had to turn to foreign drama for supply. The number of translated plays surged from 5 in 1965 to 17 in 1966 (see Chart 2.1). After a brief tumble to 6 in 1967, the number of translated plays recovered and stayed above 10 every year after 1968 till 1980. It was during the 1970s that translated drama began to come to the fore. The number of translated plays reached 21 in 1971. In the mid-1970s an average of 14 translated plays were performed every year. In 1978 the number of translated plays went up to 19, and remained at this level in 1979.

There were three main factors contributing to the bloom of translated theatre in this decade. First, with the onset of the Cultural Revolution which lasted from 1967 to 1976, the mainland relinquished its role as spokesman for a cultural China by its repudiation of all Chinese traditions. Reports of the cruel struggle meetings, the fierce fighting among Red Guard factions and the dead bodies which floated into Hong Kong waters from the nearby Pearl River all imbued the Hong Kong population with a feeling of terror. The turmoil on the mainland deepened the

dissociation with China and propelled Hong Kong to turn even more to the West for trade and culture. Second, many local post-war baby-boomers graduated from high schools and universities and took an interest in Western drama. There was a sharp increase in the number of productions by tertiary students, for instance, those of the Northcote School of Education, Grantham College, Baptist College, University of Hong Kong, New Asia College, United College and Chung Chi College. Many young students at that time, such as Jane Lai 黎翠珍 (Li Cuizhen), Hardy Tsoi 蔡錫昌 (Cai Xichang), Pak Yiu Chan 白耀燦 (Bai Yaocan) and Luke Fung 馮祿德 (Feng Lude), were interested and took part in drama productions. They also set up drama clubs which later became important theatre companies in the 1980s, such as the Amity Drama Club 致群劇社 (Zhiqun jushe) and The Seals Players 海豹劇團 (Haobao jutuan) (we will discuss The Seals Players in Chapter 3). Third, towards the end of the 1970s two important professional theatre companies were established. In 1977 the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre Company 香港話劇團 (Xianggang huajutuan) was set up by the government's Urban Council, and in 1979 Chung Ying Theatre Company 中英劇團 (Zhong Ying jutuan) was also founded. These two theatre companies were instrumental in the professionalisation of local theatre and the promotion of translated drama in Hong Kong.

The development of translated theatre was a product of the socio-political developments of the period from the 1950s to the 1980s. It also symbolised the outward turn of Hongkongers in their search for identity components, which might have started as a means of compromise and survival. When the door to mainland China was closed, Hong Kong, lacking local resources, sought to open other doors through trade and translation. Translated theatre first took shape in the 1950s. It gathered momentum during the 1960s and obtained a further boost from the

economic upswing in the 1970s. The demand for translated plays grew stronger by the day and this set the tone for the popularity of translated plays on the Hong Kong stage in the 1980s.

1980–1984: Setting the Stage

The year 1979 was a notable one in Hong Kong's history. An official visit by the then Governor MacLehose to Beijing heralded the start of the formal negotiations on Hong Kong's future between Britain and the PRC in September 1982. The countdown started, and there were fears for Hong Kong's prosperity, social stability and the efficiency of the colonial administration. At that time, it was generally believed that the pragmatic Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平, would maintain the status quo of Hong Kong, the metaphorical goose expected to produce more and bigger golden eggs for China (Cradock 1994: 165), and that it had a very good chance of remaining a British territory, thus delaying the reversion to Chinese sovereignty. On his return to Hong Kong, MacLehose kept the negotiation details a secret, and skilfully encouraged the media to portray an optimistic scenario. China's determination to recover Hong Kong was not divulged until Margaret Thatcher visited Beijing in 1982 when she tripped and fell outside the Great Hall of the People, an ominous portent of the downfall of Hong Kong. The confidence of the Hong Kong people stumbled and fell with her.

Underlying this collapse of confidence lay the peculiarity of Hongkongers' sense of belonging. The success of Hong Kong since the mid-1970s, which came to be driven increasingly by local capital and talents, reinforced the outlooks, aspirations and expressions of an increasingly more distinctive Hong Kong identity.

On the other hand, there was an influx of legal and illegal Chinese immigrants, which amounted to over 400,000 people in a period of about three years from 1978 to 1980 (Census and Statistics Department 1982: 75). Despite the fact that Hong Kong had long been a city of immigrants, and most of the locals were themselves migrants in earlier decades and had family members and relatives on the mainland, the attitude of local people towards the new immigrants became increasingly unfriendly, if not downright hostile. It was reflected by the negative stereotyping of new immigrants, calling them names such as "A Chan" 阿燦 and "Daquan zai" 大圈仔, which quickly gained currency in the mass media, particularly on television (Siu 1996: 187). The discrepancy between the Chinese of Hong Kong and the Chinese of China had never been more strongly felt in the territory. More importantly, the influx was "seen to be eroding the improvement in standards that the people of Hong Kong have worked so hard to achieve" (Governor MacLehose's speech of 23 October 1980, *Hong Kong Hansard 1980*; quoted in Tsang 2004: 193). There emerged a demarcation between *us* (the locals in Hong Kong) and *them* (the new immigrants from China). Hongkongers began to draw a line to differentiate between who belonged and who did not belong to the local community (see Ku and Pun: 2004). The recognition of this distinction was consequential for the emergence of a Hong Kong identity.

The prospect of a Chinese takeover triggered widespread anxiety among Hongkongers. Hidden fears were manifested time and again, about the territory having to succumb to the Communist dictatorship; and about the possible demise of the stability and prosperity of Hong Kong, for which Hongkongers had been working hard over the decades. From such fears, not all of them grounded, came resistance. Only a handful of Hongkongers dared to speak out publicly, but the

prospect of a return to China did not look enticing, and the overwhelming majority clearly did not want to accept the inescapability of the Chinese handover (Tsang 2004: 220). In 1982, the PRC government under Deng appeared so determined to have its way that, without the consent of the British side, it leaked to the Hong Kong media the gist of the 12-point policy paper, which stated that sovereignty over Hong Kong had to return to China and was not negotiable. Once it was clear that the Chinese government was devising a policy on Hong Kong's future, an air of anxious anticipation prevailed. Never had it seemed more urgent to seek a balance with the help of a Western other, to retain the budding Hong Kong identity and internationalism, supposedly the factors which differentiated Hong Kong people from their mainland compatriots.

The beginning of the 1980s saw the staging of translated plays getting into full swing. In 1980 there were 33 translated plays performed, representing 26% of the total 128 drama productions (see Charts 2.2 and 2.3). In 1981 the number of translated plays rose to 35. The percentage loss was somewhat deceptive (down 8% to 18%), as there was a sharp increase in the number of original plays being performed (from 95 to 153). In 1982 the number of translated plays soared to 49, equivalent to 30% of the total productions in that year. The year-on-year (yoy) growth in the number of translated plays was as high as 41% (see Chart 2.4). In 1983 the number of translated plays climbed further to 58, representing a yoy growth of 22%. Yet the percentage in relation to the total number of plays did not increase much, being offset by the increase in the number of original plays (up from 114 to 129). In 1984, the number of translated plays fell by 15 to 43; yet the drop in the number of original plays was equally big (from 129 to 70; yoy -46%). Thus, in that year the percentage of translated plays in relation to total number of productions

reached a historical high of 38%.

The beginning years of the 1980s were years of tremendous tension and uncertainty in Hong Kong. This was reflected in the burgeoning theatre scene, both in original and translated plays. Original plays became more topical, particularly on the questions of sovereignty and identity, as Hongkongers tried to sort out their relationship with the territory and with China—in what sense were they both Hongkongers and Chinese? If there was an emerging feeling of dual identity in Hong Kong, merging Hongkong and Chinese, then, were the people Hong Kong *Chinese* or *Hong Kong* Chinese? The difference between the so-called Hongkongness and Chineseness was predicated on the fact that the Hong Kong identity contained both Western and international aspects. Translated plays, which introduced Westernness and were adapted to local needs, appeared to have been, to a certain extent, able to allay the fear of the eclipse of Hong Kong identity. Evidently there was an insistence on a multifaceted rather than on a single, purely national or regional identity. Under the circumstances, translated plays acted as a cushion and thrived, despite the rise and fall in popularity of original plays in the period.

1985–1989: Quest for a New Beginning

The second half of 1984 was fateful for Hong Kong. On 26 September the Sino-British talks began in Beijing, and the Joint Declaration was eventually signed on 19 December. After ratification in May 1985 the agreement came into force, under which both sides agreed that sovereignty would be transferred from Britain to China on 1 July 1997. The political future of Hong Kong was "settled", but public confidence went the other way. The imminence of the handover fundamentally

changed the expected development of Hong Kong society, which, thanks to the economic boom in the mid-1970s, had started to break from the old perception of Hong Kong as a "borrowed land on borrowed time", and to become a society with its own future. Now the incubus of "borrowed land" came back to haunt the Hong Kong people once more. When the time came, Hong Kong would inevitably be returned to China regardless of what Hongkongers themselves felt about the matter. According to a 1988 poll, more than half of the respondents believed that reversion to Chinese rule would damage civil rights and individual liberty. More than 70% wanted the Hong Kong government to be democratic, but only about 20% said they trusted the Chinese government (White and Cheng 1993: 180; quoted in Carroll 2007: 190).

From 1985 onwards the Basic Law began to be drafted, which allowed Hong Kong a degree of autonomy under the "one country, two systems" policy. That was a period of guarded optimism rather than enthusiasm about the union with the mother country. In fact, there were ongoing arguments over Hong Kong's future political arrangements (Cheung and Louie 1991: 11). Many Hongkongers, mainly the "best educated, well trained, and highly skilled", chose emigration to countries such as Canada, Australia, the United States and Singapore. The number of emigrants rose from an average figure of around 20,000 per annum in the early 1980s to 30,000 in 1987, then to 45,000 in 1988, 60,000 in 1990, and reached a high of 66,000 (over 1% of the total population) in 1992 (Skeldon 1995: 97). These waves of emigration created ripples across the territory. Those who lacked the resources to emigrate, particularly those lower down the social stratum, did not consider themselves as having any options at all. They were trapped in the inadequacy of their own home.

If emigration provided a "quasi-exit" (since many emigrants returned to Hong Kong once they had secured "political insurance") (Mathews, Ma and Lui 2008: 44), then would it be possible to say that Hong Kong is a "quasi-home" and China, to Hongkongers, a "quasi-mother-country"? If in the first half of the 1980s Hongkongers were still setting their heart on the idea of a distinct, self-contained Hong Kong identity, and the idea that the ascending discourse of the state was a take-it-or-leave-it option, then in the latter half of the decade they came to a somewhat painful realisation that nationhood was indeed not optional, but a scheduled inevitability gradually infiltrating the existing subjectivity construct.

From 1985 to 1989, Hong Kong society was enveloped in insecurity and ambivalence, and this appeared to have dampened the heat in stage activities. In 1984 and 1985, the total number of theatre productions only amounted to around one hundred. Original plays bounced back quickly from the trough in 1986. The number of productions went up from 82 to 129 in 1987, to 190 in 1988 and reached a peak of 218 in 1989. This represented a strong yoy growth for three consecutive years (57% in 1987; 47% in 1988; 15% in 1989). During this period original plays overwhelmed translated plays, representing more than four fifths of the total number of performances. This could be understood as the necessity felt amidst the political upheaval to understand Chineseness, especially in relation to the notion of Hong Kong identity. Translated plays evinced a V-shape growth. In 1985 the performances of translated plays first plummeted from 43 to 19, a drastic reduction of 56%. The number dropped further to 14 in 1986, the lowest point in the period under study. It soon recovered, however, climbing back up to 22 in 1987 and 40 in 1988. It reached 50 in 1989, the highest in the 1980s. The proportion of the total number of plays represented by translated plays was also rising steadily (15% in

1986 and 1987; 17% in 1988; 19% in 1989). Although the number of translated plays dropped briefly at the beginning of the 1980s, they managed to regain their place. When the number of original plays increased, so would that of translated plays. If original plays surged in response to an increasingly permeating Chineseness in the territory, translated plays, as an antidote, would also keep up their number.

1990–1997: Counting down

The Tiananmen Square incident on 4 June 1989 sent the whole colony into mourning. Like millions of people across the world who saw the images on television, people in Hong Kong were shocked, disgusted and horrified. They also worried that something similar might happen in Hong Kong after 1997. In the largest public demonstration in Hong Kong's history, almost one million people, equivalent to one sixth of the population at that time, marched in the streets to support the student demonstrations in Beijing and condemn the PRC leadership. The incident changed the local attitude towards the handover and the Beijing government. Many Hongkongers were bitterly disillusioned by the crackdown, and their hidden fears about the reversion of sovereignty and the PRC were stirred up. The tension between China and Hong Kong intensified in 1992, as the then Governor Chris Patten outlined his proposal for political reforms that would "give the locals as much democratisation as possible without breaching the terms of the Basic Law" (Tsang 1997: 185). Expectedly, Patten's proposal incurred the wrath of China, which felt that the British were, in their final years in Hong Kong, planting seeds of dissent that would make Hong Kong ungovernable after the handover.

The political upheavals in the last decade of colonial rule translated into an

upsurge of interest in Hong Kong identity. Even though many people did not necessarily identify with the Communist government in China, they "became more fully Chinese … even while their disaffection with the Chinese government soared and while they looked internationally for safe havens they might later need" (White and Cheng 1993: 190). The acrimonious debates over the Chinese government crystallised Hong Kong's idea of Chineseness—it referred to the "nation" but not the "state". Criticisms marked not a rejection but an embrace of the Chinese nation: their emotions were fuelled by their desire for an alternative, better Chinese nation than that proffered by the Chinese state, especially when the reunion was impending and the Chinese economy began to gain strength from the 1990s onwards.

Perhaps in response to the eagerness to make sense of the encroaching Chineseness, the local theatre experienced a renaissance. From 1990 to 1995, the number of productions maintained a high level, i.e., approximately 270 every year. The numbers of translated plays and original plays performed perched on the right side of 40 and 210 respectively. In the early 1990s, translated plays fared quite well. There were 57 productions in 1990, 59 in 1991, and 50 in 1992. The number soared to 61 in 1993, making up 22% of the total number of productions. With the immense popularity of original plays, the number of translations was reduced to 49 in 1994, but managed to stay at 42 in 1995 and 40 in 1996. The year 1997 saw translated plays outstripped by a surge in the number of original plays; the 272 productions of the latter took up 91% of the total. This was to be expected, because in the fateful year of 1997, China and Chineseness were the golden words. Nevertheless, the number of translated plays performed stood firm at 28 in the same year.

Beyond 1997: The Certainty of Uncertainty

"Time of Certainty Begins: Will Beijing Honor Vows?" was the headline on the front page of the *New York Times* on 1 July 1997. Ironically, the post-colonial years have been a time of uncertainty; the reversion to Chinese sovereignty was the only certainty in the minds of Hongkongers. Few could have foreseen the dramatic shifts in Hong Kong's fortune that would take place thereafter—the bursting of the dot-com stocks bubble, the SARS epidemic, the roller-coaster ride of property prices, etc. All these led to an extended economic recession. Considered weak, unresponsive and inefficient, the Hong Kong SAR government was often seen to be kowtowing to Beijing, and worst of all, conceding its "high degree of autonomy" in a series of legal and political controversies.

Hongkongers' sense of identity remained in flux. Having now become Chinese nationals, they gradually accepted the reality of retrocession. They had no choice but to identify themselves with China. The upshot was a reinforced sense of dual identity—they belonged to both Hong Kong and China. This dualism had important implications. On the one hand, Hong Kong citizens wanted to preserve their own way of life under the "one country, two systems" formula and avoid China. As the new millennium dawned, the new approach was about taking advantage of China's flourishing economy—to antagonise China could be costly. With the inflow of capital from China and the growth of companies with mainland Chinese backgrounds, it was increasingly difficult for Hong Kong to maintain its independence even in strictly economic terms. Although most business-minded Hongkongers continued to hold the Chinese state at arm's length, they also realised that, especially with China's entry into the World Trade Organisation in 2001 and the introduction of the Closer Economic Ties Agreement (CEPA) in 2003, their

future prosperity lay with China. They chose accommodation rather than confrontation. The feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty was thus absorbed into the Hong Kong psyche.

Statistically, the Hong Kong stage was quite slow to react after the handover. The total number of productions plunged from 300 in 1997 to 225 in 1998, stuck at 215 in 1999 and 179 in 2000. The heat of performances of original plays cooled down, shedding 20 to 30 performances every year in the decade after the handover. They fell from the peak of 272 performances in 1997 to 94 in 2002 and further down to 76 in 2005. The yoy growth of original plays was in the negative for five consecutive years from 1998 to 2002. Translated plays were affected somewhat less. Although the number of performances dropped from 28 in 1997 to 19 in 1998, it quickly rebounded and hovered consistently over the twenties every year after 2000 (with the exception of 2002, when the number was 18). The proportion of original plays to translated plays was stable. On average, there was one translated play to every four original plays staged.

Translated Plays and Production

When we say that translated drama has been the staple of the Hong Kong theatre scene, we underline its resilience and consistency. For close to three decades, the number of productions of translated drama had been consistently high. The average number of translated plays per year from 1980 to 2007 stood at about 34. There were, of course, ups and downs from year to year, but translated plays consistently made up around one fifth to one fourth of the total number of drama productions every year.

What these numbers do not show is the scale of performance. The Hong Kong audience makes a distinction between foreign drama and translated drama. Foreign drama 外國劇 (*waiguo ju*) refers to drama performed in non-Chinese languages, usually by expatriates or touring companies in the territory, while translated drama 翻譯劇 (*fanyi ju*) refers to plays translated into Cantonese by Hong Kong theatre practitioners. Foreign drama, performed in the original language of the plays, has been thriving in a niche market targeted mainly at expatriates and intellectuals in the territory. Performances are often staged at the Fringe Club and during arts festivals. Translated plays, by contrast, appear to have permeated local society. While the total numbers of audiences of translated drama cannot be obtained, we may estimate the figures from the seating capacity of performance venues. Translated plays were often performed in major theatres in urban areas that seat 800 people on average, especially the larger ones operated by the Leisure and Culture Services Department of the Hong Kong Government (see Table 2.1). More importantly, translated drama emphasises the local's engagement with the foreign in converting it into something which is to the local's taste. With a high input from the local, translated drama is regarded more a product of the local than an import. On the other hand, many original plays were small-scale performances staged in smaller performance venues, such as black-box theatres and cultural activities halls with a seating capacity of between 50 and 300. In other words, a large-scale translated drama performance might have up to four times the audience of a small-scale original drama.

Translated plays are often the big-budget feature shows of theatre companies, taking up considerable resources for both promotion and production. In Hong Kong, established theatre companies tend to produce more translated plays. Chan

Sin-wai calculated the number of translated plays staged by four major theatre companies in Hong Kong, namely the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre (HKREP; 香港話劇團 Xianggang huajutuan), the Chung Ying Theatre Company (中英劇團 Zhong Ying jutuan), The Seals Players (海豹劇團 Haibao jutuan) and the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (APA; 香港演藝學院 Xianggang yanyi xueyuan) from 1980 to 1990. During the decade, the four theatre companies produced altogether 132 translated plays, making up 31.4% of the total number of translated plays staged in the territory. Specifically, the HKREP produced 56 translated plays, equivalent to 54.9% of its total production, from its inception in 1977 to the year 1990. More than 90% of The Seals Players' repertoire was accounted for by translated plays. Out of 31 drama productions by APA from 1985 to 1990, a staggering 74% (i.e., 23 productions) were translated plays (Chan 1992: 167–68, 174). The staging of translated plays, which involves translation, copyright matters and sometimes period costumes, sets and props, has high resource implications, which means that only "bigger" companies were in a position to have sufficient manpower and resources. Translated plays were also programme highlights of theatre companies and attracted a great deal of attention among the media and the public.

The HKREP is a good example to illustrate the importance of translated plays. From the 2003/2004 season onwards, its productions have been divided into two streams: Main Stage (主流劇場 *zhuliu juchang*), which presents large-scale performances; and Rep 2 (二號劇場 *erhao juchang*), which features black-box productions. Among the Main Stage titles between 2003 and 2008, two thirds were translated plays, while almost all Rep 2 productions were original plays. Productions in the Main Stage series were put in the limelight. The cast usually

included HKREP's top actors and sometimes film and television stars, who would then appear in the mass media to plug the titles. Advertisements were placed in newspapers, magazines and on public transport. Sometimes mini-exhibitions were held in shopping centres. These productions were staged in large performance venues with high seating capacity and featured elaborate sets and costumes. In this light, translated plays enjoyed a wide public appeal, and with their ability to generate good box-office receipts, it appears that they also generated confidence among both theatre companies and their audiences.

Origins of Translated Plays

An analysis of the origins of translated plays reveals that plays from English-speaking countries, e.g., the United States and Britain, dominated the repertoire. Close to 32% of the playwrights were American, beating the British (30.7%) by a narrow margin. Far behind the two English-speaking countries, we find translated plays from France (9.9%) and Germany (5.7%), Japan (3.5%) and Italy (3.3%), and a sprinkling of various other countries (see Chart 2.5).

The American repertoire (Table 2.2) can be roughly divided into two groups: comedies, such as those by Neil Simon, which take up almost a quarter of the repertoire; and drama, or to use Arthur Miller's term, "modern tragedies" (1978: 1), written by Miller, Thornton Wilder, Tennessee Williams, Eugene O'Neill and David Mamet. Various titles of Simon's plays were performed, while with the other playwrights, the translations were focused on one or two of their most famous works. For example, *Our Town* (by Wilder) was staged 12 times, the highest number among all translated plays, *Death of a Salesman* (by Miller) 8 times and *The Glass*

Menagerie 5 times. Another notable play is *Man of La Mancha* by Dale Wasserman, which was performed 6 times during the period.

The British repertoire (see Table 2.3) provides a wealth of literary classics. The Hong Kong theatre is often didactic and insists that the theatre should introduce literary classics to the audience (Mao 2009; Tang 2009). In terms of the translated plays performed in Hong Kong, Shakespeare is easily the most popular foreign-language playwright, with 57 titles. We also see many other household names of English drama on the list, such as George Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde and Peter Shaffer. Light-hearted plays were in the majority: *Twelfth Night, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Taming of the Shrew, Much Ado About Nothing, Pygmalion, Run for Your Wife, The Importance of Being Earnest, Noises Off* and *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!*. There are also popular selections from the Theatre of the Absurd: for example, both Harold Pinter and Samuel Beckett had 15 and 12 translated titles respectively.

The French repertoire (see Table 2.4) reveals an acceptance of the Absurd Theatre on the Hong Kong stage. Plays by absurdist playwrights such as Eugene Ionesco, Jean Genet, Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus make up nearly half of the repertoire. Among these, *The Bald Soprano* (by Ionesco) was the most popular, with 4 productions from 1980 to 2007, while *The Game, The Lesson* (also by Ionesco), *The Maids* (by Genet), *No Exit* (by Sartre) and *Return to Tipasa* (by Camus) each had 3 performances. Molière's farces and comedies were equally well liked, and garnered a total of 19 productions. In addition, René Fauchois's *Wet Paint*, the most popular translated play before 1980 with 12 performances (see Table 2.7), continued to be favoured by local thespians and audiences after 1980 and was staged 6 times from 1980 to 2007. In the same period, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's hugely popular children's story *The Little Prince* was adapted for the stage 7 times.

Bertolt Brecht tops the list of German playwrights (see Table 2.5). The local thespians, with their strong desire to pursue artistic breakthroughs and to educate theatregoers (Mao 2009; Tang 2009), embraced Bertolt Brecht's theory of *Verfremdungseffekt* and epic theatre, as evidenced in the 27 productions of plays from his oeuvre. He was the third most popular foreign playwright, next to Shakespeare (57 productions) and the runner-up, Neil Simon (32 productions). Of the 27 productions of Brecht's works, *Exception and the Rule* was performed 6 times, while *The Good Woman of Sichuan* and *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* were each performed 4 times; these were presented mainly by experimental theatre groups (e.g., On and On Theatre Workshop 前進進戲劇工作坊, Sand and Bricks 沙磚上, The Fourth Line Theatre Group 第四線劇社) and student theatres in tertiary institutions (e.g., The Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts, and the drama clubs at the University of Hong Kong and the Hong Kong Polytechnic University).

According to our statistics, not many plays have been translated from Asian languages. Japanese drama, the largest contributor in the Asian group, accounted for 3.5% of the total number of translated plays (see Chart 2.5). Despite the prevalence of Japanese consumer goods and popular culture, Japanese plays did not make it onto the Hong Kong theatre scene. The most frequently performed Japanese play in Hong Kong was Yamamoto Yuzo's *Infanticide*, which was staged 7 times. The second was Akutagawa Ryunosuke's *Rashomon*, which was produced 6 times. Among the Japanese oeuvre we find a few works by less famous Japanese playwrights, as well as the mystery novelist Akagawa Jiro and film director Masayuki Suo (see Table 2.6), whose non-dramatic works were adapted for the Cantonese stage.

For an ex-British colony such as Hong Kong, it is perhaps no surprise that

English-language plays dominated the translated theatre. The American and British repertoires took up over three fifths of the total number of translated plays. Thanks to their colonial education, many Hongkongers, especially the post-war generations, have fairly good English proficiency and thus relatively easy access to plays written in the coloniser's language. Alongside a large number of respected names, who are also popular objects of study in the academic world, such as Shakespeare and Miller, in the English-language repertoires, we also find a variety of less familiar names, as well as numerous contemporary and modern playwrights.

The plays coming from non-English-speaking countries, such as France, Germany, Italy, Norway and the Czech Republic, occupied a significantly smaller proportion of the total repertoire. Even when combined, the number of non-English titles was only one third of the number of English repertoires. Most non-English repertoires appeared to focus on one or two obviously representative figures from the countries. For instance, Brecht from Germany, Molière and Ionesco from France, Dario Fo from Italy and Ibsen from Norway.[2] The scale of performances was also smaller, as the non-English plays were often translated and staged by student groups and experimental theatre troupes. Although a few non-English playwrights had as many titles performed as their English counterparts—Brecht had 27 and Molière 19—their impact on the local theatre and culture in general was limited to a certain extent by the small performance scale and audience size. In terms of repertoire variety, performance number, performance scale, audience size and potential impact on local culture, English-language plays far outstripped non-English-language plays in the translated theatre of Hong Kong.

Retranslations Before and After the 1980s

Lawrence Venuti describes translation as a value-creation process, which takes the form of an inscribed interpretation of a foreign-language text, the values of which inevitably undergo diminution and revision to accommodate those that appeal to domestic cultural constituencies. Retranslations create values that are likely to be "doubly domestic", "determined not only by the domestic values which the translator inscribes in the foreign text, but also by the values inscribed in a previous version" (2004: 25). Venuti allows us to extend this thinking to retranslations by pointing out that they can help to advance translation and identity studies by illuminating three key issues: the translator's agency, intertextuality and history. Retranslations highlight the translator's intentionality because they are designed to make an appreciable difference. In referring to a previously translated foreign text, the translator endorses the significance of the original selection of the foreign text, then proceeds to examine both the foreign text and the previous translation of it by a standard of judgment Venuti terms "competing interpretation", taking into account the claims of adequacy, completeness or accuracy (Venuti 2004: 26). This standard, implicit as it may be, addresses the intertextual relations between the translations and the foreign text, between the translations and other texts written in the translating language, as well as between the past translation and the current translation. Because retranslations are designed to review a previous version of the foreign text, they are likely to construct a more dense and complex intertextuality which draws attention to their competing interpretation. On the other hand, since translations are "linked to their historical moment … they always reflect the cultural formation where they are produced, the hierarchical arrangement of values that circulate in institutions and undergo various developments over time" (34).

Retranslations, while mirroring or altering the values that prevail at particular moments in the translating culture, mark the passage of time by reflecting the differences between the values of the past and present contexts. In short, retranslations, besides linking up the Self and the Other, also connects the past with the present. They provide concrete, comparable evidences and data on the basis of which we can examine the synchronicity and diachronicity of identity.

In attempting to identify the pattern of retranslation in Hong Kong theatre, we are particularly interested in two main aspects of repetition. One is the repetition of the act of translation itself. Under what kind of sociocultural circumstances does the Self explicitly appeal to the Other in the process of subjectivity building? For the purpose of Self-writing on the stage, what advantages do translated plays have over original plays? The other aspect of repetition to be examined here is reruns of translated plays, i.e., the restaging of certain foreign play scripts. There are two kinds of reruns: one produces a newly translated texts; the other re-uses the previously translated play script, supposedly repeating the old performance. Since interpretations of the same text occur in different contexts, no matter how much the new performance strives to emulate the old, it will give rise to different representations. In this sense, no two stage performances are the same, and each enjoys an independent status and intertextual relationships with previous and/or subsequent versions, as well as with other works and trends in the translating culture.

There are many reasons why retranslations occur, the most significant of which is to reinstate or subvert the canonicity of the foreign texts.[3] At other times a retranslation may be motivated by no more than the retranslator's personal appreciation and understanding of the foreign text. The retranslators may justify

the retranslations solely on the basis of the aesthetic values they perceive in the foreign-language texts. Translators and producers of reruns do in fact make many decisions automatically, without any critical reflection on the norms that constrain their work. Even when experienced translators and producers are capable of articulating these norms wholly or in part, the translating will proceed amid conditions that remain preconscious or subliminal, or even entirely unconscious. Yet insofar as every translation imposes on the foreign text an interpretation informed by the foreign and translating cultures, and insofar as a foreign author enjoys a canonical status in the translating culture and translations of the author's work continue to interest the audience, social, cultural or political norms inevitably enter into the translation projects that seem to be simply an expression of the translator's taste and sensibility.

Ideological factors aside, retranslations may be driven by practical concerns. Foremost among these concerns is the issue of copyright. Production companies often find it more convenient to commission a new translation than to seek permission from the previous translators. In the case of Hong Kong, many earlier translations of foreign plays are rendered in written Chinese or in a kind of speech based on Putonghua. For stage performances in Hong Kong, the dialogues have to be revised for delivery in Cantonese, the local dialect. The use of Cantonese to translate canonical world drama affirms the ascendancy and viability of the local and the Self.

From the beginning of the twentieth century to 1979, a total of 143 translated plays were staged in Hong Kong. For close to eighty years, the number of translated plays was quite low, as was the number of drama performances in general. Despite a scarcity of foreign plays available, the repertoire before the 1980s

was diverse and repetitions were rare. Around 67.1% of the repertoire, i.e., 96 titles, were performed only once. There were 19 plays that were performed twice, 11 three times and 10 four times. René Fauchois's *Wet Paint* and Nikolai Gogol's *The Inspector-General* were performed 12 times, mainly small-scale productions in school halls and community centres. Four of the performances of *Wet Paint* adopted the translation by Ouyang Yuqian 歐陽予倩, two used the version by Zhao Rulin 趙如琳, and the rest did not list the name of the translator. Three of the performances of *The Inspector-General* adopted the translation by Tan Guochi 譚國恥, two by Bao Hanlin 鮑漢琳, one by Huang Boming 黃柏鳴, one by Huang Boming and Li Weimin 黎偉民 and the rest did not list the name of the translator. Anton Chekhov's *The Proposal* was performed 10 times, which were mostly student productions with unidentified translators. Maxim Gorky's *Na Dne* was performed 8 times under similar circumstances (see Table 2.7). In fact, many of the performances omitted the information on the translators. There were few identifiable translators, except the more well known ones such as Chung King-fai, Ouyang Yuqian, Tan Guochi, Bao Hanlin and Lei Haoran 雷浩然. While the omission of translator information was probably owing to the lack of proper documentation, it also reflected the low status accorded to translators.

From 1980 to 2008, the number of foreign plays performed soared. In less than 30 years, a much shorter time span than the pre-1980s period, a total of 704 foreign drama titles were staged in Hong Kong. The nearly quadruple increase reflected the rise in popularity and performance opportunities after the 1980s. There were 530 titles, equivalent to three quarters of the post-1980s repertoire, which were staged only once. The remaining 25% of the repertoire were reruns. Before 1980, there were only 7 plays which were staged five times or more (see Table 2.8). From 1980 to

2007, the number rose to 23 (see Table 2.7). In spite of the increased availability and diversity of translated plays, there were several titles which were frequently staged. It is clear that these popular plays carry certain themes which Hongkongers were particularly keen on revisiting, and which could probably be, to borrow Homi Bhabha's phrase, "stubborn chunks" (1994: 219) in the composition of the identity construct. In this sense, the theatre retranslations were able to reflect and refract what the Hong Kong identity has become. Thornton Wilder's *Our Town* was the most popular translated play—it was performed 12 times from 1980 to 2008. Chung King-fai, who first staged *Our Town* in the territory in 1965 and restaged it twice in 1970 and 1975, believed that the Hong Kong audience might identify from personal experiences with the life and times of the play, and might even find Wilder's ideas similar to the Daoist philosophy of Laozi 老子 and Zhuangzi 莊子 (Fong n.d.). According to the script, the play is to be performed with little scenery, no set and minimal props; the characters should mime the objects with which they interact, and the surroundings are to be created only with chairs, tables and ladders. In other words, few resources are required for staging the play, making it ideal for small-scale productions, hence its popularity. From 1980 to 2008, Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* was performed 8 times and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* 7 times. *Death of a Salesman* first appeared on the Hong Kong stage in 1964 through the introduction by Chung King-fai. Then it was staged again in 1970 by Chung Ying Drama Club 中英劇社 (Zhong Ying jushe) and in 1974 by a student group called the King's Road Hok Yau Club 英皇道學友社 (Yinghuang dao xueyou she). *Twelfth Night* was staged only once, in 1957, by students of the University of Hong Kong. After the 1980s, these two plays became hugely popular. There were five titles which were each staged 7 times after 1980, including Shakespeare's *A Midsummer's Night's Dream* and *Twelfth Night*, Ray Cooney's *Run for Your Wife* and Antoine de

Saint Exupéry's *The Little Prince* and Yamamoto Yuzo's *Infanticide*. There were ten titles which were staged 6 times (see Table 2.8).

In the textual analyses from Chapters 4 to 7, we will study five plays that have been frequently retranslated and rerun, namely *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night*, *Death of a Salesman*, *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* and *Pygmalion*. These five plays are chosen for discussion because they were staged by important theatre troupes in Hong Kong and invariably on a large scale. They were also significant in different ways. In Chapter 4, we will examine *Hamlet* and its Chinese translations in Hong Kong. The tale of the Danish prince was performed six times in Hong Kong from 1980 to 2007. In 1977, Richard Ho translated the play for the Hong Kong stage and renamed it *Sword of Vengeance* 王子復仇記 (*Wangzi fuchou ji* [The prince's revenge]). *Vengeance* was the first sinified drama adaptation in the territory. Ho relocated the setting from Denmark in the Middle Ages to the Five Dynasty and Ten Kingdoms period in China. The stage set, actors' costumes, dialogues and poems were also sinified. *Vengeance* is an example of how a cultural China is used to reframe a Western story and, conversely, how the Western world could be re-formed to fit into a historical Chinese context. In Chapter 5 we will discuss Rupert Chan's *Twelfth Night*, which was re-named *Lantern Festival* 元宵 (*Yuanxiao*) and was performed 7 times. Chan bucked the trend of translating Shakespeare in its "original sauce and original flavour" (原汁原味 *yuanzhi yuanwei*); instead, he changed the setting to the Tang dynasty and rendered the play into a very colloquial Cantonese. In this way, he highlighted the ascendency of Hongkong-Cantonese, the dialect spoken by the majority of ethnic Chinese in the territory, as well as the popular culture that the local dialect represented. In Chapter 6 *Death of a Salesman* will be discussed, with a focus on how the story of an American salesman was understood from a

particularly Chinese angle and presented as the tale of an anxious father who "wants his sons to be dragons" (望子成龍 *wang zi cheng long*), i.e., to make a fortune and rise in the world. Chapter 7 will discuss how the theme of mistaken identities found its way into the local theatre. The two popular comedies *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* and *Pygmalion* were localised on the Hong Kong stage and later adapted into films. The Hong Kong versions celebrate the fluid and pliable nature of identities, which is both a source of mirth and a means of survival. With a shuffle or a makeover of identities, the characters manage to come through crisis after crisis and even climb up the social ladder.

Cultural Insurance

During the colonial period, Hong Kong identity was teetering on a precarious balance of economic, political and cultural calculations, largely hinging on a political equilibrium among China, Britain and the colonial administration. When one particular influence became overwhelming, Hong Kong would, intentionally or unintentionally, seek counterbalancing support from the others. From 1980 to 2008, China was clawing its way to national reunion (with Hong Kong, Macau, and hopefully Taiwan), and it was feared that this could lead to a potential eclipse of local identity by a new national identity. For Hongkongers it was important to protect the status quo. And translated plays, under the circumstances, appeared to be one of the neutralising mechanisms—while original plays presented themselves as the means of root-searching and exploring the territory's emotional ties with China, translated plays were performed to keep Chineseness in check, to retain the foreign discourses, and to explore the needs of the subjectivity construct. Theatre practitioners were, to say the least, aware of Hong Kong's niche in staging foreign

plays, because the territory, in their opinion, was inherently a meeting place between East and West. They also felt the need to maintain cultural diversity in the theatre, which necessitated a certain proportion of foreign plays, for the healthy development of Hong Kong drama (e.g., Rupert Chan 2000: 149; 2009; Mao 1998: 77; 2009; Tang 2009).

Expanding on Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, Gilbert Fong proposes three discourses that could explain the popularity of translated plays in Hong Kong theatre, namely the political, the market and the artistic (Fong 2006a). Except for the artistic discourse chiefly to make up for the poor writing of original plays and to raise the standard of stage performance, translated theatre in Hong Kong should not be regarded as being *proactive*, at least not in terms of political and market discourses. On the other hand, based on the parallel developments occurring inside the theatre and the macro socio-economic environment, translated theatre can at least be described as *reactive* to what befell the territory and its changing conditions.

The market discourse is connected with the artistic discourse if we consider attending translated theatre as an act of consumption. If we follow the definition by Colin Campbell (1995: 110), consumption refers to the process when both "tangible objects" (the actual experience of the performance, which very often entails the exchange of money for tickets) and "meanings" (the ideologies that the foreign play explicitly or implicitly suggests) are "consumed". Gordon Mathews compares such consumption to an experience in a "cultural supermarket" (Mathews2001: 289) and elaborates on its relationship with the material supermarket:

> [W]e consume information that we use in shaping who we are as individuals and in terms of our age, social class, gender, and sense of cultural belonging. On the basis of this consumption of information, we consume goods. Consumption from the cultural supermarket underlies consumption from the material supermarket: it provides us

> with the knowledge and the conceptual categories through which we consume goods.
>
> (Mathews 2001: 289)

In the case of theatre translation, the consumption process is two-fold. When theatre practitioners decide to put a foreign play on the local stage, they have to pay royalty for the translation and performance rights to obtain things related to the play, e.g., plot, setting, dialogues and other thematic or theatrical devices. This is the first tier of consumption. Then the company tries to resell the whole package, in the form of performance, to the public. When members of the audience buy tickets to attend a translated theatre performance, they vote with their tickets and their feet, endorsing the performance as promoted and as what they expect it to be. Here the second tier of consumption takes place. It is in this sense that we understand how the market discourse and the artistic discourse are interrelated. As seen from the sustained presence of translated plays throughout nearly three decades, Hong Kong theatre, including both the practitioners and the audience, has over the years developed a penchant for foreign plays, as the big names in the Western dramatic world, first and foremost, often guarantee high quality play scripts and box-office success (Rupert Chan 2000: 149; K. B. Chan 2009; Rupert Chan 2009; Dominic Cheung 2009; Mao 2009).

If emigration is a kind of "political insurance" for Hongkongers (Mathews, Ma, and Lui 2008: 44), theatre translation can be considered "cultural insurance"—a form of risk management used primarily to hedge against the risk of losing the precarious Hong Kong identity. In the pre- and post-colonial period, the major threat was the imminence of an omnipotent political Chineseness, as promoted in the official propaganda adopted by the Beijing government and followed by those who had vested interests in a close and harmonious Sino-HK relationship that

benefited trade. The presence of translated plays is designed to keep various discourses in sight, to ensure diversity, and to guard against the overwhelming dominance. At the same time, not unlike the case of a Hongkonger who has acquired foreign citizenship, the original local, Chinese identity is not discarded right away; on the contrary, it is largely retained, albeit inevitably reshaped by foreign discourses. Translated theatre is like a neutralising agent that counterbalances any discourse that is set to become overwhelming. Artistically and ideologically, it affords safety and flexibility for the local thespians to experiment with thematic and theatrical devices. As can be seen from the distribution of origins of translated plays, most are Western literary classics. The choice was conservative and conventional. In the repertoire of translated plays, rarely can we find radical or avant-garde plays that cater to the taste of a niche market. The quality of the play scripts could be guaranteed, and so could the audience reception and box-office revenues. When the translators and the producers, intentionally or unintentionally, invest foreign plays with their own ideas and interpretations, these ideas and interpretations will acquire a sheen of "universality" and "internationalism", and become more acceptable and appealing to the audience. Thus foreign plays are turned into secure sites on which new themes and theatrical devices can be tried and adjusted, existing ones renewed and reinforced, expanding and eventually strengthengin the local theatre. With time and reruns, a translated play takes on the effect of home and is gradually transformed into an appendage to home or a surrogate home.

NOTES

1. The term "greenback" originated as a nickname for Demand Notes, non-interest notes with green backs issued by the United States in 1861 to finance the Civil War, and now it usually refers to U.S. currency notes. "Greenback culture" referred the pecuniary support given by the American government to the promotion of American culture and literature in the 1950s and the 1960s, with a hidden agenda to halt the spread of Communism. The Asia Foundation, funded by the American government, set aside six hundred thousand US dollars every year for patronising writers, schools and publishers who showed interest in producing works sympathetic to the pro-American campaign (Cao Juren's words, quoted in Liu 1999: 202). For details of the greenback cultural movement, see Fong (2003: 301–2, 305), Liu (1999: 199–204) and Tay, Huang and Lu (2000: 10–20).

2. Such concentration may be explained in two ways. First, the European plays selected for the Hong Kong stage were mainly classics with particular artistic features, such as Brechtian alienation, Ibsenian realism, as well as French farce and absurd theatre. This was also the reason why European plays were often chosen by schools and avant-garde groups. Second, Hong Kong thespians apparently had to rely on English translations to convert European plays into Chinese versions for the stage. The more famous the European plays, the easier it was to find English translations. Hence, it was logical that when Hong Kong thespians sought to stage European plays, they tended to select famous plays for which English translations were available. Sometimes they might even manage to obtain a Chinese translation of the European plays.

3. A typical case of subversion is Québécois drama translation after 1968, when the nationalist movement emerged to demand independence for Quebec and a homogeneous national identity on the basis of Québécois French. As Annie Brisset has shown, retranslations of dramatic works by Shakespeare, Strindberg, Chekhov and Brecht were produced to endow Québécois French with cultural authority, in order to challenge its subordination to the dominant languages, notably North American English and Parisian French (see Brisset 1996: 162–94).

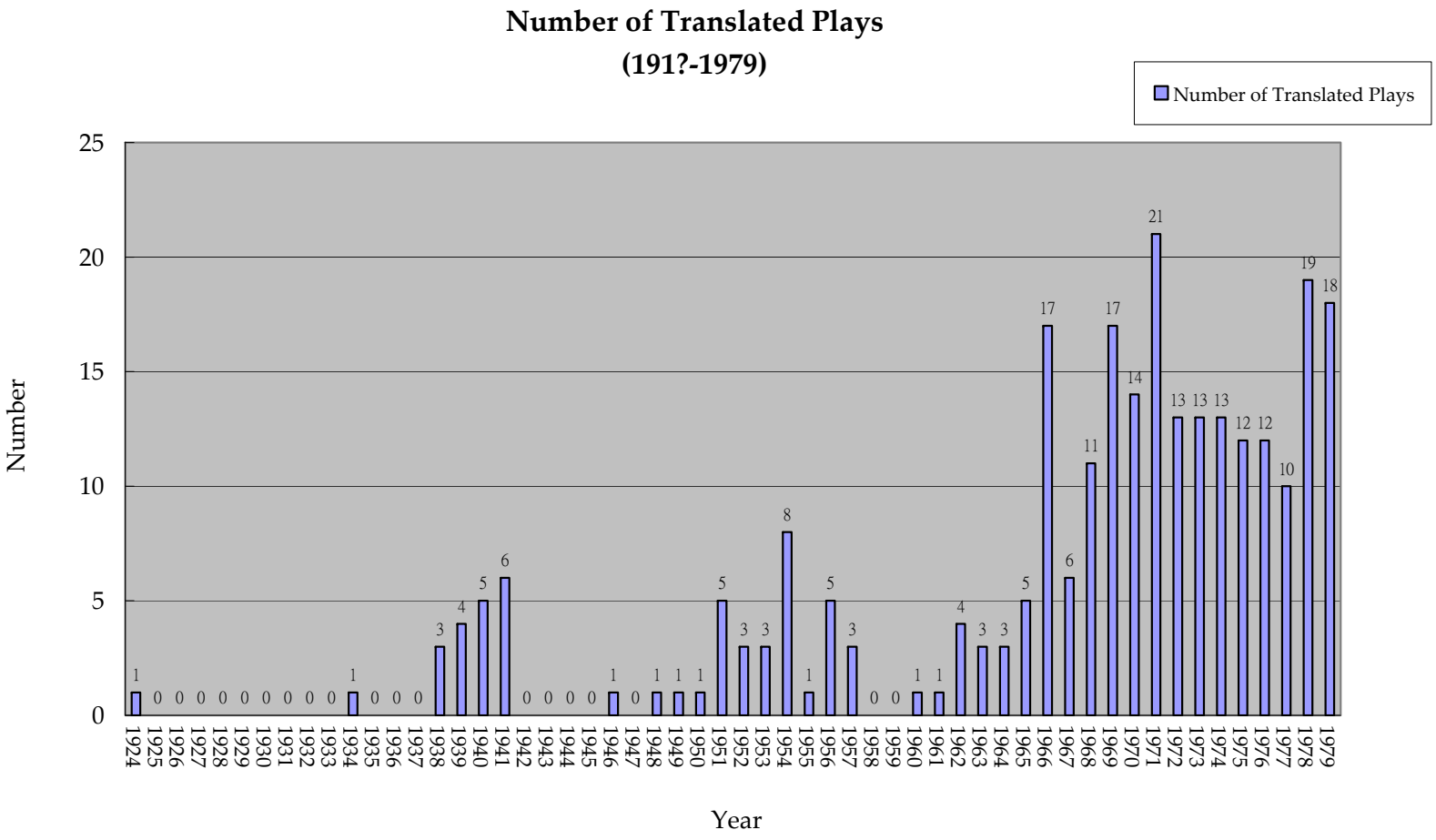

Chart 2.1 Number of translated plays (191?4–1979)

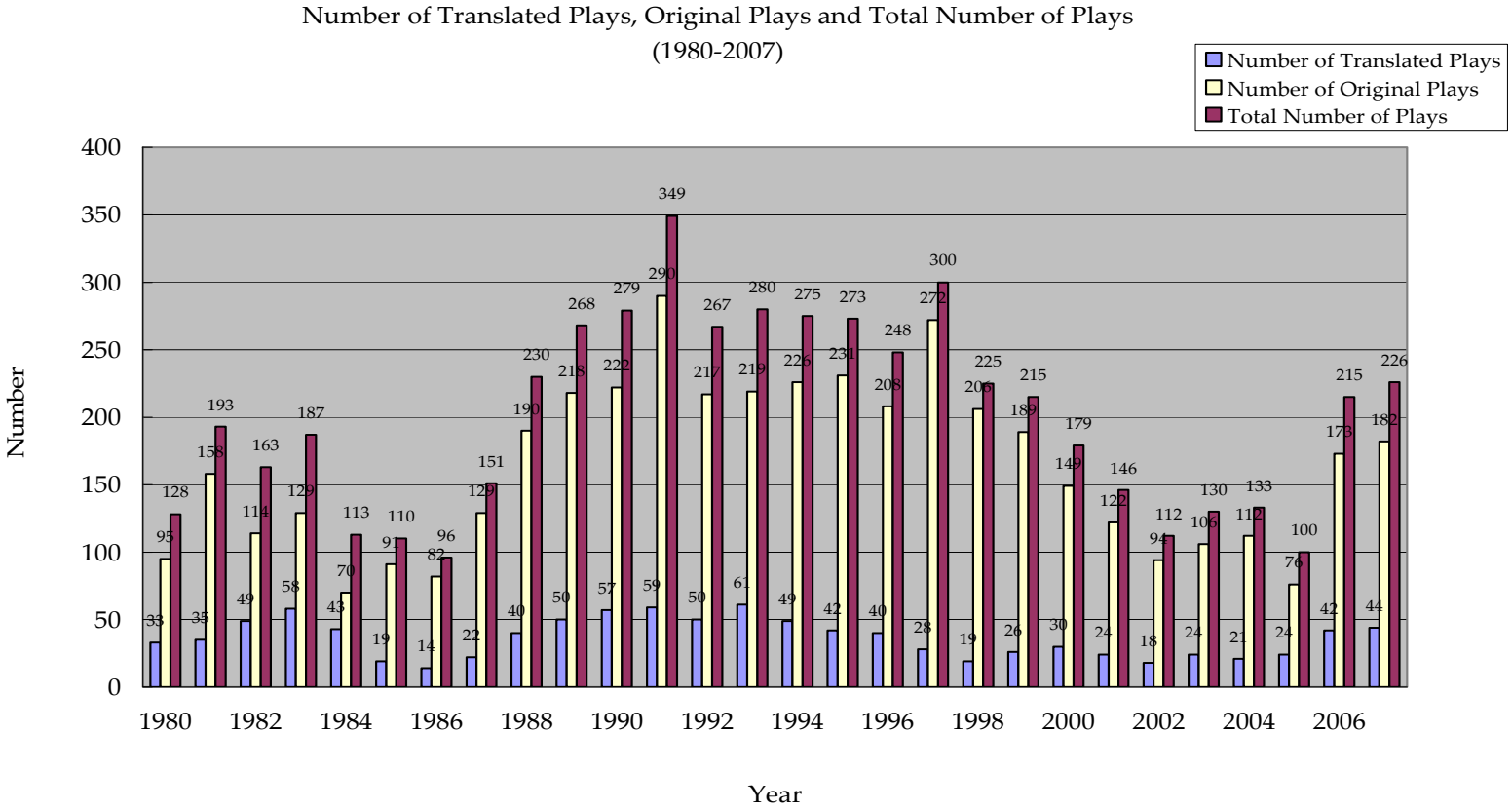

Chart 2.2 Number of translated plays, original plays and total number of plays (1980–2007)

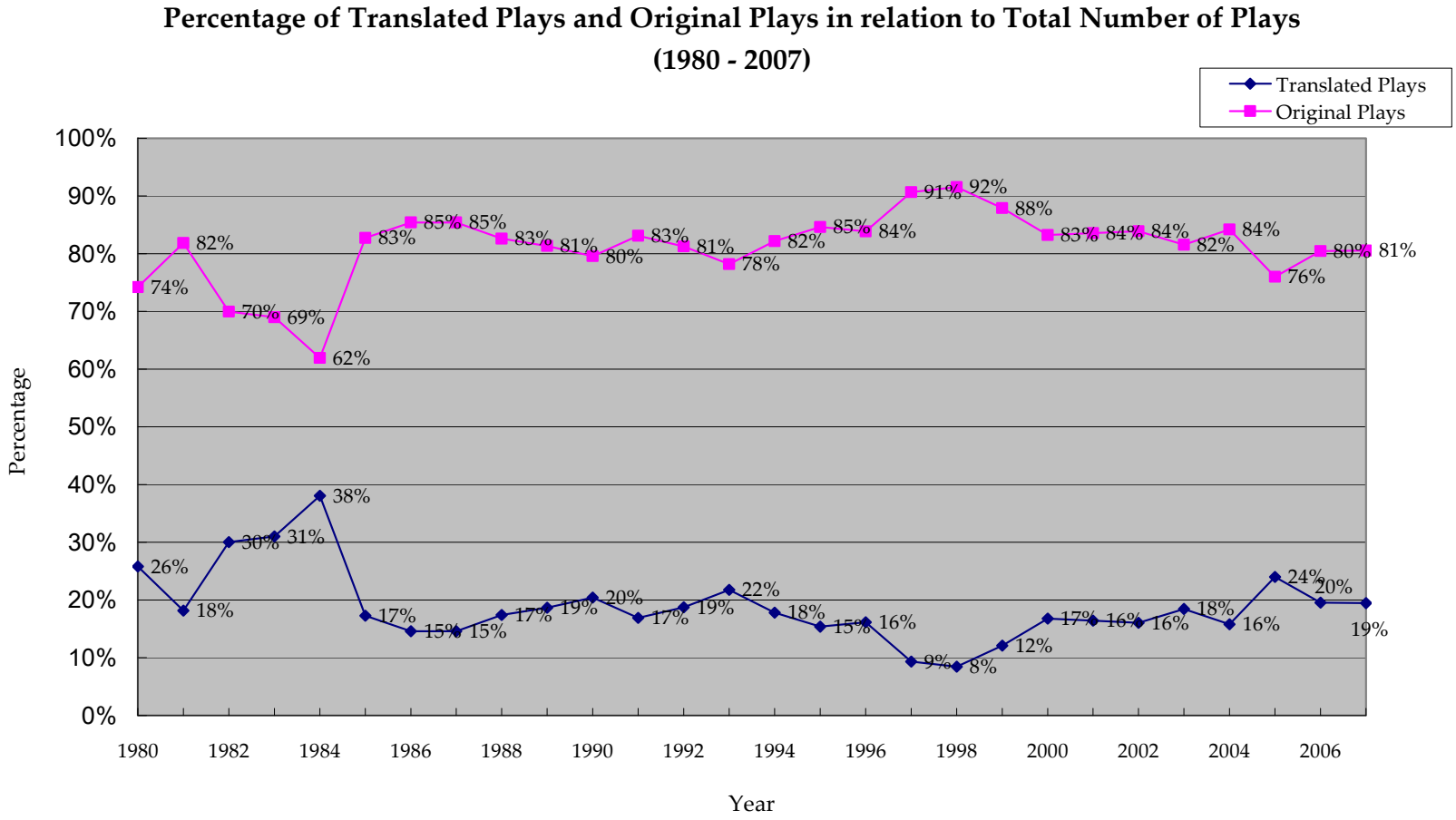

Chart 2.3 Percentage of translated plays, original plays and total number of plays (1980–2007)

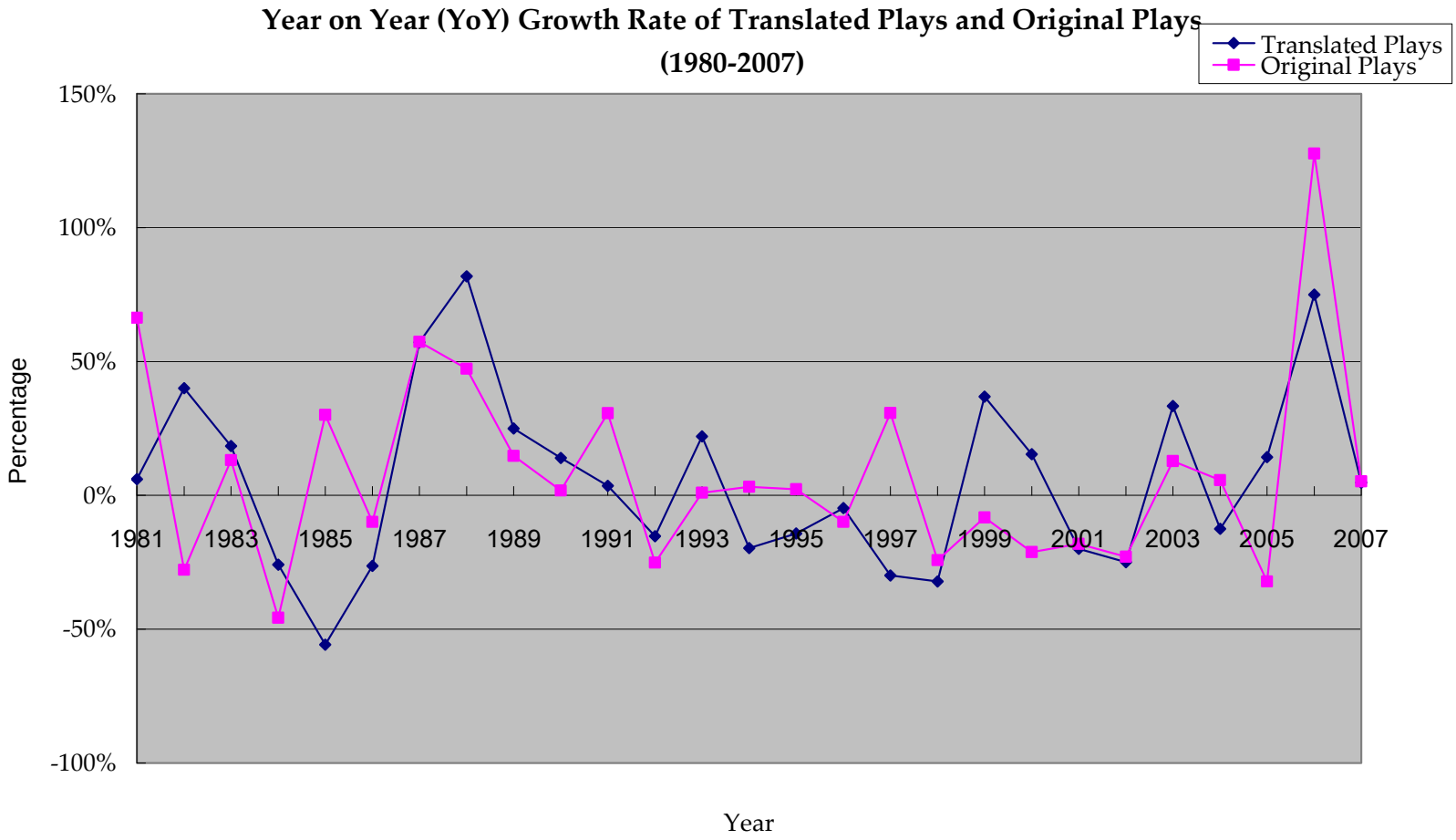

Chart 2.4 Year-on-year (YoY) growth rate of translated plays and original plays (1980–2007)

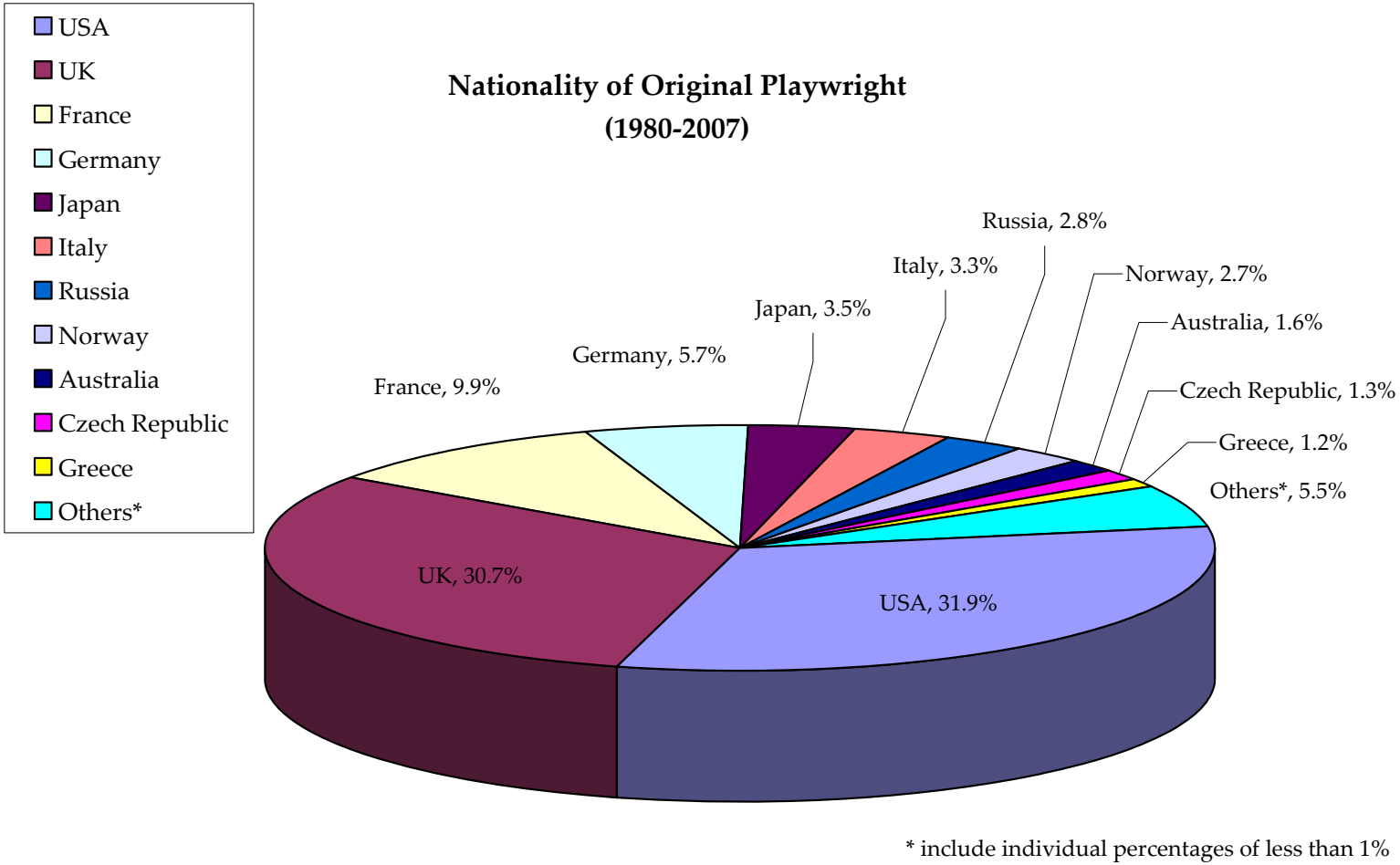

Chart 2.5 Origins of translated plays (1980–2007)

VENUES	MAJOR FACILITY	SEATING CAPACITY
Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts	Lyric Theatre	1,181
Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts	Drama Theatre	415
Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts	Studio Theatre	120–240
Hong Kong Arts Centre	Shouson Theatre	439
Hong Kong Arts Centre	McAulay Studio	76–100
Hong Kong City Hall	Theatre	463
Hong Kong Cultural Centre	Studio Theatre	303–496
Hong Kong Science Museum	Lecture Hall	295
Hong Kong Space Museum	Lecture Hall	193
Ngau Chi Wan Civic Centre	Cultural Activities Hall	61–106
	Theatre	354
North District Town Hall	Auditorium	498
Sai Wan Ho Civic Centre	Cultural Activities Hall	110
	Theatre	471
Sha Tin Town Hall	Cultural Activities Hall	250
Sheung Wan Civic Centre	Lecture Hall	150
	Theatre	480
Tsuen Wan Town Hall	Cultural Activities Hall	280
	Cultural Activities Hall	300

Table 2.1 Major drama performance venues in Hong Kong
(Source: Leisure and Cultural Services Department 2007; Hong Kong Arts Centre 2010; Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts 1985)`

American Repertoire in Hong Kong (1980–2007)

Frequency of Author

Neil Simon	32
Thornton Wilder	18
Tennessee Williams	14
Arthur Miller	13
Eugene O'Neill	11
Christopher Durang	9
Murray Schisgal	9
David Mamet	8
Dale Wasserman	8
Marsha Norman	6
A. R. Gurney	5
Sam Shepard	5
Robert Anderson; Allen Boretz and John Murray; John Patrick; Reginald Rose;	each 4
Harvey Fierstein; Leonard Gershe; David Ives; Jerome Kass; Arthur Laurents; Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee; Mark Medoff; Don Nigro; Bernard Pomerance; Ernest Thompson;	each 3
Michael Cristofer; Disney; Dennis Foon; Rebecca Gilman; John Guare; Robert Harling; Jeffrey Hatcher and Mitch Albom; Lillian Hellman; O. Henry; David Henry Hwang; Tom Jones and Harvey Schmidt; James Lapine; Craig Lucas; Jane Martin; Terrence McNally; John Pielmeier; Irwin Shaw; John Steinbeck; Jerry Sterner; Ted Tally; Paula Vogel; Lanford Wilson; Paul Zindel;	each 2
George Abbott and Douglas Wallop; Edward Albee; Woody Allen; Howard Ashman; David Auburn; L. Frank Baum; L. Blessing; Ray Bradbury; Jason Robert Brown; Abe Burrows; Abe Burrows and Jack Weinstock and Willie Gilbert; D. L. Coburn; Margaret Craven; Thomas H. Dickinson; Joe DiPietro; Marcia Dixcy; James Patrick Donleavy; Eve Ensler; Michael V. Gazzo; Nancy Gilseman and Judith Guest; David Grae; Oliver Hailey; Nick Hall; William Hoffman; Joan Holden; Tina Howe; David Henry Hwang and Raymond To; William Inge; Jim Jacobs and Warren Casey; Ken Jenkins; Trish Johnson; Tom Jones; Fay Kanin and Michael Kanin; Susanna Kaysen; Larry Kramer; Neil LaBute; Ira Levin; Jonathan Levy; Ken Ludwig; Abby Mann; Donald Margulies; Steve Martin; Joe Masteroff; Ivan Menchell; John G. Neilhardt; Peter Parnell; Craig Pospisil; Elmer Rice; José Rivera; David Rogers; Stephen Schwartz; Martin Sherman; Aaron Sorkin; Robert D. San Souci; Joseph Stein; Irving Stone; Jo Swerling and Abe Burrows; Yale M. Udoff; Alfred Uhry; Robert James Waller; Wendy Wasserstein; Samm-Art Williams and Michael Weller; Herman Wouk	each 1

Frequency of Performance

(For authors whose works have been performed over five times)

Neil Simon	
The Odd Couple	4
The Goodbye Girl	3

Biloxi Blues	3
God's Favourite	3
Come Blow Your Horn; Fools	each 2
Barefoot in the Park; Brighton Beach Memoirs; I Ought to be in Pictures; Laughter on the 23rd Floor; Lost in Yonkers; Prisoner of the Second Avenue; The Sunshine Boys; They're Playing our Song; Plays with unspecified or unidentifiable English names (《同命俏冤家》; 《地設一雙》;《我愛假日長》;《兩兄弟一條心》;《哈囉！亞爸……》; 《笑中有淚》;《異人三足：開放雙人床》;《那一年，我的家……》)	each 1
Thornton Wilder	
Our Town	12
The Matchmaker	3
Happy Journey to Trenton and Camden	2
The Skin of Our Teeth	1
Tennessee Williams	
The Glass Menagerie	5
A Streetcar Named Desire	4
Cat on a Hot Tin Roof; A Lovely Sunday for Creve Coeur; The Eccentricities of a Nightingale; Summer and Smoke; Plays with unspecified or unidentifiable English names (《斯巴頓之夏天》)	each 1
Arthur Miller	
Death of a Salesman	8
The Crucible	3
A View from the Bridge	2
Eugene O'Neill	
Ah, Wilderness!	3
Desire under the Elms	2
All God's Chillun Got Wings; Anna Christie; Before Breakfast; The Emperor Jones; In the Zone; Long Day's Journey into Night	each 1
Christopher Durang	
Laughing Wild	3
Baby with the Bath Water; The Actor's Nightmare	each 2
Titanic; Play with unspecified or unidentifiable English names (《癲鸞倒鳳鷘醫生》)	each 1
Murray Schisgal	
Luv	3
The Typists	2
Twice Around the Park; A View from the Bridge; Play with unspecified or unidentifiable English names (《真相假相》; 《偉大？你想！》)	each 1
David Mamet	
The Frog Prince; Oleanna	each 2
The Duck Variations; Edmond; Lakeboat; Glengarry Glen Ross	each 1

Dale Wasserman	
Man of La Mancha	6
One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest	2
Marsha Norman	
'Nite; Mother	3
Getting Out	3
A. R. Gurney	
Love Letters	3
Sylvia	2
Sam Shepard	
Curse of the Starving Class; Icarus' Mother; A Lie of the Mind; Red Cross; Fool for Love	each 1

Table 2.2 American repertoire in Hong Kong (1980–2007)

British Repertoire in Hong Kong (1980–2007)

Frequency of Author

William Shakespeare	57
Alan Ayckbourn	16
Harold Pinter	15
George Bernard Shaw	13
Samuel Beckett	12
Ray Cooney	11
Peter Shaffer	9
Oscar Wilde	9
Michael Frayn	7
Bernard Goss	6
Tom Stoppard	6
Ray Cooney and John Chapman	5
Robert Bolt	5
Agatha Christie	5
Hugh Leonard	5
Harold Brighouse; David Campton; Joe Orton; George Orwell; Willy Russell; Brian Way and Warren Jenkins	each 4
John Gardiner; Ben Jonson; Roy Kift; John M. Synge;	each 3
Raymond Briggs; Brian Clark; Charles Dickens; Ron Hart; William Stanley Houghton; Sarah Kane; Dino Mahoney; John Morley; Richard Sheridan; Virginia Woolf	each 2
Elizabeth von Arnim; John Ashton and Glen Walford; Jane Austen; James M. Barrie; Alan Bennet; Tim Bowler; Michael Brett; Frances Hodgson Burnett; Marina Carr; Lewis Carroll; Jim Cartwright; Caryl Churchill; Roald Dahl; Arthur Conan Doyle; Frank Dunlop and Jim Dale; Nell Dunn; Ben Elton; Kevin Elyot; William Fairchild; David Farr; Brian Friel; Geoff Gillham; Noel Greig; Lee Hall; Christopher Hampton; Susan Hill; Ted Huges; Charlotte Keatley; Kenneth Lillington; Patrick Marber; William Somerset Maugham; Douglas Maxwell; Kay McManus; Adrian Mitchell; John Obsborne; Gillian Plowman; Stephen Poliakoff; Jackie Pullinger and Andrew Quicke; Michael Stevens; Cecil Philip Taylor; Andrew Lloyd Webber; John Webster; John Whiting; Nicholas Wright; Naftali Yavin	each 1

Frequency of Performance

(For authors whose works have been performed over five times)

William Shakespeare

Twelfth Night	7
A Midsummer Night's Dream	7
Hamlet	6
The Merchant of Venice	6
Macbeth	5
King Lear	4

The Taming of the Shrew	4
Much Ado About Nothing	3
Romeo and Juliet	3
The Comedy of Errors; Othello; The Two Gentlemen of Verona; Titus Andronicus	each 2
As You Like It; Julius Caesar; Measure For Measure; The Tempest	each 1
Alan Ayckbourn	
Relatively Speaking	3
Bedroom Farce; Tons of Money	each 2
Absurd Person Singular; Invisible Friends; Just Between Ourselves; The Norman Conquests: Round and Round the Garden; A Small Family Business; Woman in Mind; Plays with unspecified or unidentifiable English names (《不一樣的媽媽》;《你聽到我聽到你嗎？》;《春寒・我不知道風・浮雲》)	each 1
Harold Pinter	
The Dumb Waiter	5
Betrayal	3
The Lover	3
The Room	2
The Birthday Party; The Collection; Old Times	each 1
Samuel Beckett	
Waiting for Godot	6
Happy Days	2
Endgame; Lullaby; Rough for Theatre II	each 1
George Bernard Shaw	
Augustus Does His Bit	4
Saint Joan	4
Pygmalion	3
Major Barbara; How He Lied to Her Husband	each 1
Ray Cooney	
Run for Your Wife	7
It Runs in the Family	3
Whose Wife is it Anyway?	1
Peter Shaffer	
Amadeus; The Royal Hunt of the Sun; Black Comedy/ White Lies	each 2
Equus; Five Finger Exercise; Black Mischief	each 1
Oscar Wilde	
The Importance of Being Earnest	6
The Happy Prince	2
The Pictures of Dorian Gray	1
Michael Frayn	
Noises Off	4

Look Look; Plays with unspecified or unidentifiable English names (《情・樓・感》; 《弊傢伙！阿邊個來左！》)	each 1
Bernard Goss	
Monster Man	3
Donkey Work	2
The Fantastic Fairground	1
Tom Stoppard	
After Magritte; Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Red	each 2
The Real Inspector Hound; Arcadia	each 1
Ray Cooney and John Chapman	
Move Over, Mrs. Markham!	5
Robert Bolt	
A Man for all Seasons	5
Agatha Christie	
And Then There Were None; Witness for the Prosecution	each 2
Towards Zero	1
Hugh Leonard	
Da	5

Table 2.3 British repertoire in Hong Kong (1980–2007)

French Repertoire

Frequency of Author

Molière	19
Eugene Ionesco	11
Antoine de Saint-Exupery	7
René Fauchois	6
Jean Anouilh	6
Jean Genet	5
Jean-Paul Sartre	5
Albert Camus; Yasmina Reza; Edmond Rostand; Eric-Emmanuel Schmitt	each 4
Georges and Maurice Desvallieres Feydeau	3
Marc Camoletti; Georges Feydeau; Victor Hugo; Jean Racine; Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais	each 2
Jean-Jacques Bellot; Raymond Cousse; Gustave Flaubert; Alfred Jarry; Bernard-Marie Koltès; Eugene Labiche; Roger Vitrac; Emile Zola	each 1

Frequency of Performance

(For authors whose works have been performed over three times)

Molière	
The School for Wives	4
The Forced Marriage	3
L'Amour Medecin; Tartuffe	each 2
The Doctor in Spite of Himself; Don Juan; Fool's Marriage; The Imaginary Invalid; The Impostures of Scapin; The Miser; Plays with unspecified or unidentifiable English names (《女才子》;《都市流行病》)	each 1
Eugene Ionesco	
The Bald Soprano	4
The Game	3
The Lesson	3
Rhinoceros	1
Antoine de Saint-Exupery	
The Little Prince	7
René Fauchois	
Wet Paint	6
Jean Anouilh	
Antigone	3
Becket	2
Thieves' Carnival	1
Jean Genet	
The Maids	3

The Balcony; Deathwatch	each 1
Jean-Paul Sartre	
No Exit	3
The Flies; The Respectful Prostitute	each 1
Albert Camus	
Return to Tipasa	3
Caligula	1
Yasmina Reza	
Art	4
Edmond Rostand	
Cyrano de Bergerac	4
Eric-Emmanuel Schmitt	
Oscar et la dame Rose	2
The Visitor	2
Georges Feydeau and Maurice Desvallieres	
Spring Fever Hotel	3

Table 2.4 French repertoire in Hong Kong (1980–2007)

German Repertoire

Frequency of Author

Bertolt Brecht	27
Grimm Brothers	4
Volker Ludwig	4
Heiner Muller	3
Georg Buchner; Friedrich Karl Waechter; Peter Weiss; Friedrich von Schiller	each 2
Bertolt Brecht and Dorothy Lane; Bertolt Brecht and Lion Feuchtwanger; Michael Ende; Günter Wilhelm Grass; Thomas Mann; Patrick Suskind; Frank Wedekind	each 1

Frequency of Performance

(For authors whose works have been performed over three times)

Bertolt Brecht	
Exception and the Rule	6
The Good Woman of Sichuan	4
The Caucasian Chalk Circle	4
Mother Courage and Her Children; The Threepenny Opera	each 2
The Days of the Commune; Galileo; Man Equals Man; The Resistible Rise of Arturoui; The Seven Deadly Kisses; Plays with unspecified or unidentifiable English names (《人獸之間》;《小國民》; 《手段》 《告密者》)	each 1
Grimm Brothers	
Snow White	3
Candy House	1
Volker Ludwig	
A Bucket of Water	2
Island Line; Shtockerlock and Milipilli	each 1
Heiner Muller	
Hamletmachine	2
The Slaughter	1

Table 2.5 German repertoire in Hong Kong (1980–2007)

Japanese Repertoire

Frequency of Author	
Yamamoto Yuzo 山本有三	7
Akutagawa Ryunosuke 芥川龍之介	6
Betsuyaku Minoru 別役實	5
Akagawa Jiro 赤川次郎	2
Miura Ayako 三浦綾子; Ogawa Yoko 小川洋子; 小杤山洋一; Inoue Ha 井上廈; Mizukami Tsutomu 水上勉; Kitamura So 北村想; Takeyama Michio 竹山道雄; Wui Sin Chong 鄭義信; Hasuda Sugako 橋田壽賀子; Masayuki Suo 周防正行	each 1

Frequency of Performance **(For authors whose works have been performed over three times)**	
Yamamoto Yuzo 山本有三	
Infanticide	7
Akutagawa Ryunosuke 芥川龍之介	
Rashomon	6

Table 2.6 Japanese repertoire in Hong Kong (1980–2007)

PLAYS PERFORMED OVER 5 TIMES FROM 1980 TO 2007	
PLAY TITLE	**PLAYWRIGHT**
5 times	
Da	Hugh Leonard
The Glass Menagerie	Tennessee Williams
Move Over, Mrs. Markham!	Ray Cooney and John Chapman
Macbeth	William Shakespeare
The Dumb Waiter	Harold Pinter
A Man of all Seasons	Robert Bolt
6 times	
The Importance of Being Earnest	Oscar Wilde
Pinnochio	Carlo Collodi
Man of La Mancha	Dale Wasserman
Wet Paint	René Fauchois'
The Merchant of Venice	William Shakespeare
Hamlet	William Shakespeare
A Doll's House	Henrik Ibsen
Waiting for Godot	Samuel Beckett
Rashomon	Ryunosuke Akutagawa
Exception and the Rule	Bertolt Brecht
7 times	
The Little Prince	Antoine de Saint Exupéry
Twelfth Night	William Shakespeare
Run for Your Wife	Ray Cooney

A Midsummer Night's Dream	William Shakespeare
Infanticide	Yamamoto Yuzo
8 times	
Death of a Salesman	Arthur Miller
12 times	
Our Town	Thornton Wilder

PLAY TITLE	PLAYWRIGHT	DATE	TRANSLATOR	DIRECTOR	VENUE	PERFORMED BY
5 times						
The Glass Menagerie	Tennessee Williams	1983.10.19-22	簡婉明	鍾炳霖	藝術中心演奏廳	「美國劇季」
		1988.8.19-21	簡婉明	麥秋	城市劇場	中天製作
		1999.3.30-31	N/I	毛俊輝	香港演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
		2002.1.18-20	簡婉明	麥秋	沙田大會堂文娛廳	麥秋製作
		2004.6.24-27	梁祖堯	鄭傳軍	香港文化中心劇場	姊宮樂園
Move Over, Mrs. Markham!	Ray Cooney and John Chapman	1993.11.25	司徒偉健	張可堅	元朗聿修堂	中天製作
		1993.8.26-28	司徒偉健	張可堅	屯門大會堂演奏廳	中天製作
		1994.1.13-14	司徒偉健	張可堅	上環文娛中心劇院	中天製作
		1994.9.2-8	司徒偉健	張可堅	香港文化中心大劇院	中天製作
		1995.11.2-12.3	司徒偉健	張可堅	演藝學院歌劇院	中天製作
Macbeth	William Shakespeare	1982.5.1-5	N/I	Walford, Glen	大會堂劇院	中英劇團
		1992.3.23-28	楊展強、李偉祥、余翰廷	楊展強	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
		1993.5.12-16	Marowitz	N/I	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	雅傳劇團
		1994.1.20-22	N/I	N/I	香港文化中心大劇院	當代傳奇劇場
		2001.12.10-15	陳敢權	Pinner, David	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

The Dumb Waiter	Harold Pinter	1980.7.2-6	周蓓、簡婉明	徐詠璇、莫錦屏	大會堂演奏廳	香港話劇團
		1983.8.1	袁可禮	沈秀貞	大會堂劇院	僞人社
		1984	N/I	李志文	N/I	赫墾坊劇團
		1991.11.13-14	陳一峰	林耀基、陳詠詩	中大邵逸夫堂	中文大學聯合劇社
		1992.7.3-8	N/I	梁子麒	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	演戲家族
A Man of all Seasons	Robert Bolt	1980.5.15	蔡錫昌	蔡錫昌	N/I	香港電台話劇團
		1982.3.18-20	N/I	蔡錫昌	中文大學邵逸夫堂	鯤鵬劇團
		1982.12.9-12	N/I	N/I	大會堂劇院	英國伯明翰劇團
		1985.8.22-25	陳載澧、張南峰	陳載澧	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
		1988.10.19-22	張南峰、陳載澧	王添強	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	香港基督徒文娛中心
6 times						
The Importance of Being Earnest	Oscar Wilde	1984.6.21-30	余光中	楊世彭	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
		1985.6.14-23	余光中	楊世彭	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
		1988.6.3-4	N/I	N/I	藝穗會	戲派劇社
		1991.3.9-10	余光中	N/I	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	沙崙劇團
		1994.7.7-9	余光中	N/I	香港文化中心劇場	羅富國教育學院學生會
		2004.7.16-8.1	余光中	楊世彭	演藝學院戲劇院	香港話劇團
Pinnochio	Carlo Collodi	1981.4.29-5.3	莫鳳儀、麥潔玲	莫鳳儀、黃冠章	藝術中心壽臣劇院	現代劇社
		1987.12.24-27	陳鈞潤	Chris Harris	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
		1988.6.23-26	陳鈞潤	N/I	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
		1989.3.4-5,11-12	陳鈞潤	N/I	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
		1995.12.30-31	N/I	N/I	香港文化中心大劇院	包勤力活偶劇團
		2007.8.3-12	許樹寧	許樹寧	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	樹寧・現在式單位新新青年劇場
Man of La Mancha	Dale Wasserman	1982.12.19	許遠光、何國靖	張秉權、傅月美、白耀燦	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	致群劇社

		1983.6.14-15	許遠光、何國靖	張秉權、白耀燦、傅月美	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	致群劇社
		1985.2.9-10	許遠光、何國靖	張秉權、白耀燦、傅月美	伊利沙伯體育館	致群劇社
		1989.6.16-21	方家煌	方家煌	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
		1995.9.21-24	高峰	陳啓源	香港文化中心劇場	荃灣青年劇藝社
		2004.12.3-5	方梓勳、陳嘉恩	蔡錫昌	香港大會堂劇院	眾劇團
Wet Paint	René Fauchois′	1981.12.1-2	N/I	黎覺奔	伊利沙伯體育館	戲劇藝術學會
		1982.2.17-18	N/I	黎覺奔	元朗聿修堂	戲劇藝術學會
		1982.3.19-20	N/I	莫德光、黎覺奔	聖約翰書院禮堂	聖約翰書院
		1990.8.7-10	N/I	朱克、吳回	大會堂劇院	香港影視劇團
		1991.1.10-12	N/I	N/I	西灣河文娛中心劇院	香港影視劇團
		1991.1.31-2.1	N/I	N/I	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	香港影視劇團
The Merchant of Venice	William Shakespeare	1979-1980	N/I	Walford, Glen	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團
		1984.1.24-29	楊世彭	楊世彭	高山劇場	香港話劇團
		1984.5.1-10	楊世彭	楊世彭	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
		1990.9.22	楊世彭	N/I	香港文化中心劇場	導向劇團
		2000.9.6-9	舒志義	岑偉宗	香港文化中心劇場	丁劇坊
		2007.7.20-22	葉遜謙	莊培德	香港文化中心劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
Hamlet	William Shakespeare	1989.10.27-29	何文匯	N/I	大會堂劇院	路德演藝社
		1993.1.5-6	陳麗芬、陳活碩	陳啓源	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	荃灣青年劇藝社
		2000.1.21-24	熊源偉	熊源偉	香港文化中心劇場	致群劇社、沙田話劇團、第四線劇社
		2006.1.16-21	陳鈞潤	鄧樹榮	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
		2006.7.21-23	陳鈞潤	鄧樹榮	N/I	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
		2007.11.22-25	何文匯	麥秋	香港文化中心大劇院	大中華全球文化協會

A Doll's House	Henrik Ibsen	1980.3.20-22	葉連壁	N/I	藝術中心壽臣劇院	凱旋音樂藝術中心
		1996.11.22-24	薛俊良	高繼祥	N/I	思定劇社
		1997.6.12-19	潘家洵、白耀燦	白耀燦	上環文娛中心劇院	香港影視劇團
		1999.12.15-18	N/I	N/I	藝穗會 LaCremeria 劇院	灣仔劇團
		2001.2.19-24	鍾靜思	葉正行	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
		2006.6.3-4	馮家良	馮家良	牛池灣文娛中心文娛廳	亂描舍
Waiting for Godot	Samuel Beckett	1983.1.21-23	陳麗音、凌嘉勤	陳麗音、凌嘉勤	藝術中心演奏廳	力行劇社
		1984.3.10-11	陳麗音、凌嘉勤	陳麗音、凌嘉勤	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	力行劇社
		1989.9.1-3	集體翻譯	林大慶	上環文娛中心劇院	力行劇社
		1990.1.12-14	集體翻譯	林大慶	演藝學院戲劇院	力行劇社
		1990.9.23	N/I	N/I	香港文化中心劇場	導向劇團
		2002.7.19-21	方梓勳	蔡錫昌	香港大會堂劇院	眾劇團
Rashomon	Ryunosuke Akutagawa	1980.10.16-17	鍾景輝	鍾景輝	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
		1981.5.27-28	鍾景輝	鍾景輝	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
		1987.12.4-6	黎翠珍	黃清霞	大會堂演奏廳	海豹劇團
		1988.3.25-26	黎翠珍	黃清霞	演藝學院歌劇院	海豹劇團
		1991.12.8	鍾景輝	陳啓源	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	荃灣青年劇藝社
		1996.11.3-9	張可堅	麥秋, 張可堅	N/I	香港戲劇協會
Exception and the Rule	Bertolt Brecht	1980.8.16-20	N/I	N/I	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中文校外進修部戲劇藝術課程
		1980.11.14-16	N/I	N/I	藝術中心小劇場	理工劇社
		1984	N/I	N/I	N/I	彩虹劇社
		1986.8	長流	盧偉力	荃灣大會堂	第四線劇社
		1991.7.3-4	N/I	黃雅儀	西灣河文娛中心劇院	觀塘劇團
		1993.10.5-7	N/I	鄭傳軍	上環文娛中心劇院	大專戲劇陣線

7 times						
The Little Prince	Antoine de Saint Exupéry	1984	N/I	N/I	N/I	彩虹劇社
		1984.6.2-5	何文蔚	何文蔚	大會堂高座演奏廳	香港話劇團
		1988.4.5	何文蔚	N/I	大會堂演奏廳	中青劇社
		1989.1.29	陳鈞潤	N/I	牛池灣文娛中心	青年協會慈雲山青年中心
		1992.8.27-30	白耀燦	白耀燦	沙田大會堂文娛廳	沙田話劇團
		1994.6.17-18	杜偉昌	N/I	藝穗會	Youth Arts Theatre Company
		1999.8.20-22	N/I	N/I	西灣河文娛中心劇院	社區文娛統籌辦事處
Twelfth Night	William Shakespeare	1980.11.22-23	N/I	N/I	藝術中心演奏廳	新一代戲劇組
		1986.1.31-2.7, 10.28-31	陳鈞潤	高本納	藝術中心演奏廳	中英劇團
		1988.5.13-24	林尚武，周采芹	周采芹	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
		1993.6.19	陳鈞潤	周偉強	香港文化中心劇場	羅富國教育學院學生會
		1994.1.19-22	廖梅姬	林立三	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
		1996.2.15-17	N/I	孟京輝	N/I	沙田話劇團
		2000.2.19-20	陳鈞潤	古天農	屯門大會堂文娛廳	中英劇團
Run for Your Wife	Ray Cooney	1988.10.7-11	N/I	鍾景輝、陳有后	演藝學院歌劇院	藝進同學會
		1989.10.5-9	N/I	鍾景輝	演藝學院歌劇院	藝進同學會
		1989.2.24-25	N/I	鍾景輝	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	藝進同學會
		1990.1.27-31	N/I	鍾景輝	香港文化中心大劇院	藝進同學會
		1990.4.26-29	N/I	鍾景輝	演藝學院歌劇院	藝進同學會
		1991.3.1-3	N/I	N/I	香港體育館	藝進同學會
		1992.8.5-9	N/I	N/I	屯門大會堂演奏廳	藝進同學會
A Midsummer Night's Dream	William Shakespeare	1988.2.8-13	陳鈞潤	高本納	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
		1988.5.27-28	陳鈞潤	高本納	荃灣大會堂	中英劇團

		1997.1.18-26	楊世彭	楊世彭	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
		1999.11.8-10	N/I	N/I	藝術中心壽臣劇院	青年藝術節
		2000.7.1-8	楊世彭	楊世彭	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
		2000.7.28-29	楊世彭	楊世彭	台北國家劇院戲劇廳	香港話劇團
		2000.10.20-22	陳鈞潤	古天農	香港文化中心大劇院	中英劇團、香港小交響樂團
Infanticide	Yamamoto Yuzo	1981.8.2	N/I	談浩文	大會堂劇院	華人文員協會
		1982.3.27-28	N/I	N/I	窩打老道女青柏顏露斯會所	浪濤劇社、第二劇團
		1982.7.22	N/I	侯雪媚	N/I	裘錦秋英文書院
		1985.1.19	N/I	N/I	藝術中心小劇場	柏立基教育學院學生會劇社
		1985.5	N/I	N/I	長沙灣警察宿舍	湛青劇社
		1990	N/I	N/I	N/I	彩虹劇社
		1992.11.28-29	N/I	張振中	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	思定劇社
8 times						
Death of a Salesman	***Arthur Miller***	1980.8.16-20	N/I	N/I	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中文校外進修部戲劇藝術課程
		1981.2.11	N/I	盧恩成	荃灣大會堂	荃灣青年劇藝社
		1982.3.27-28	N/I	N/I	藝術中心壽臣劇院	理工學生會劇社
		1983.1.15-19	姚克	楊世彭	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
		1985.2.11-16	英若誠	N/I	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中國北京人民藝術劇院
		1995.6.21-28	張可堅	麥秋	大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協會
		1995.12	張可堅	麥秋	荃灣大會堂	香港戲劇協會
		2006.9.22-24	方梓勳、陳嘉恩、蔡錫昌	蔡錫昌	香港大會堂劇院	眾劇團
12 times						
Our Town	Thornton Wilder	1982.6.21-22	N/I	陳應杰	大會堂劇院	羅富國教育學院
		1982.8.10-19	湯新楣、劉文漢	鍾景輝	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團

		1993.3.19-21	陳敢權/改編	陳敢權	藝術中心壽臣劇院	海豹劇團基金
		1987.12.27-29	湯新楣、劉文漢	羅冠蘭、梁廣昌	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	香港基督教文娛協會
		1988.6.18-19	湯新楣、劉文漢	何偉龍	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	浸會學院校外進修部演藝(戲劇)證書課程
		1990.2.6	N/I	陳啓源	荃灣大會堂文娛廳	荃灣青年劇藝社
		1992.8.10-11	湯新楣、劉文漢	顏協明	香港文化中心劇場	管子劇社
		1994.11.17-20	湯新楣、劉文漢	甘銘泰	大會堂劇院	嘉士伯灣仔劇團
		1998.3.23-24	N/I	麥秋	上環文娛中心劇院	理工劇社
		2004.10.15-17	李戈	葉遜謙	香港文化中心劇場	範圍
		2006.10.11-13	N/I	陳曙曦	上環文娛中心劇院	天邊外劇場
		2007.12.21-23	張可堅	麥秋	香港大會堂音樂廳	香港戲劇協會

Note: N/I = no information

Table 2.7 Translated plays performed 5 times or over from 1980 to 2007

PLAYS PERFORMED OVER 5 TIMES BEFORE 1980	
PLAY TITLES	**PLAYWRIGHT**
5 times	
The Sacred Flame	William Somerset Maugham
6 times	
The Imaginary Invalid	Moliére
父帰る	Kinkuchi Kan
8 times	
Na Dne	Maxim Gorky
10 times	
The Proposal	Anton Chekhov
12 times	
The Inspector-General	Nikolai Gogol
Wet Paint	René Fauchois

PLAY TITLE	**PLAYWRIGHT**	**DATE**	**TRANSLATOR**	**DIRECTOR**	**VENUE**	**PERFORMING GROUP**
5 times						
The Sacred Flame	William Somerset Maugham	1954.11.4	N/I	譚國始	皇仁書院	中英學會中文戲劇組
		1955.7.8	雷浩然	N/I	聖士提反女校	聖士提反女校
		1965.3.27-28	雷浩然	雷浩然	新亞校堂	中文大學新亞書院
		1966.9.10	雷浩然	盧恩成	大會堂劇院	嶺英中學校友會
		1969.9.3-4	雷浩然	雷浩然、黃宗保	大會堂劇院	世界戲劇社
6 times						

The Imaginary Invalid	Moliére	1941.7.8	N/I	N/I	孔聖堂	華僑中學戲劇比賽
		1949	N/I	N/I	N/I	中原劇藝社
		1952.7.28	N/I	N/I	啓發中學	啓發中學
		1954.4.5	N/I	N/I	梅芳中學	梅芳中學
		1954.7.10.11	N/I	N/I	葛師	中青青英團契
		1966.9	N/I	N/I	N/I	太古中心
父帰る	Kinkuchi Kan	1941.6.30	田漢	N/I	N/I	春輝兒童劇團
		1953.11.28	田漢	N/I	青年會禮堂	平正會計專科學校
		1966.2.4-6	田漢	N/I	N/I	香港大學
		1966.7.20	田漢	李錫瑛	筲箕灣官立中學禮堂	筲箕灣官立中學
		1972.8.27	田漢	N/I	九龍太子道明愛中心禮堂	群青話劇社
		1976.4.22	田漢	鄧燕萍	N/I	靜宜女子中學
8 times						
Na Dne	Maxim Gorky	1948.9	N/I	N/I	N/I	中原劇藝社
		1957.1.27-28	N/I	N/I	童軍總會	港九業餘藝術人士
		1963.9.15-16	N/I	N/I	大會堂劇院	香港戲劇藝術學院
		1966.11.29	N/I	N/I	葛院禮堂	葛量洪書院護士學校
		1969.8.18-19	N/I	N/I	大會堂劇院	聖保羅書院
		1971.5.23-24	N/I	嶺東導演團	大會堂劇院	嶺東劇藝社
		1974.1.13-14	N/I	陳朝傑、何顯銳、何恨、羅本能、陳呈	大會堂劇院	嶺東劇藝社
		1974.2.9-10	N/I	陳朝傑	北角陳樹渠大會堂	北角街坊會康樂中心戲劇組
10 times						
The Proposal	Anton Chekhov	1940.12.1	N/I	N/I	娛樂戲院	仿林中學劇團
		1952.5.11	N/I	N/I	聖士提反女校	聖士提反女校

		1960.12.21	N/I	N/I	羅師	羅師專校
		1966.2.12	N/I	N/I	大會堂音樂廳	聯合書院
		1966.7.30-31	N/I	N/I	伊利沙伯中學	中國學生話劇組
		1968.4.5-6	N/I	王德民	聖保羅書院禮堂	聖保羅書院戲劇欣賞晚會
		1970.1.10, 10.1	N/I	殷巧兒、章經	大會堂音樂廳	世界戲劇社
		1970.3.27-30	N/I	N/I	大會堂劇院	葛量洪學院
		1972.9.9-10	N/I	胡量才	九龍明愛中心禮堂	激流藝術社戲劇組
		1973.3.29	N/I	N/I	太子道明愛中心	珠海書院話劇社
12 times						
The Inspector-General	Nikolai Gogol	1939.3.30-31	譚國恥	歐陽予倩	中央戲院	中華藝術劇團
		1939.4.18	譚國恥	N/I	N/I	第一劇團
		1941.5	譚國恥	鍾啓南	N/I	美華中學
		1946.5-6	N/I	瞿白音	N/I	中原劇藝社
		1954.1-3	N/I	N/I	八達中學	八達中學
		1966.11.19-20	鮑漢琳	鮑漢琳	大會堂音樂廳	中英學會中文戲劇組
		1971.5.31-6.2	N/I	鍾景輝	N/I	浸會書院
		1972.4.3-4	鮑漢琳	N/I	N/I	香港天主教總堂
		1975.6.14-15	黃柏鳴/	黃柏鳴、何恨	陳樹渠大會堂	北角街坊會
		1975.8.24	黃柏鳴、黎偉民	黃柏鳴、何恨	大會堂劇院	青藝業餘話劇社
		1977.11.10,19	N/I	鍾景輝	大會堂音樂廳	麗的電視藝員
		1978.9.17-18	N/I	N/I	藝術中心演奏廳	新一代戲劇組
Wet Paint	René Fauchois	1924	歐陽予倩	N/I	N/I	男青年會禮堂
		1934 夏天	歐陽予倩	歐陽予倩	男子青年會	廣東戲劇研究所畢業生
		1938	歐陽予倩	N/I	N/I	時代劇團

		1938.9	N/I	歐陽予倩	N/I	中國旅行劇團
		1950.4.1	歐陽予倩	N/I	中青總會會所	青年會劇藝社
		1951.4.27-28	N/I	N/I	協恩中學校堂	協恩中學
		1951.7.21	N/I	N/I	孔聖堂	新僑中學
		1952.7.25-26	N/I	N/I	皇仁書院	女青職業婦女部
		1962	趙如琳	黃宗保	N/I	香港業餘話劇社
		1966.11.23-24	N/I	黃宗保	大會堂劇院	新亞書院戲劇學會
		1967.12.16-17	N/I	N/I	贊育服務處	贊育服務處
		1974.4.18-19	趙如琳	陳伯元、魏繼光、梁立人	大會堂劇院	長風劇團

Note: N/I = no information

Table 2.8 Plays performed five times or over before 1980

Chapter 3

PARROTING WITHOUT PARODY:
Chung King-fai, The Seals Players and Theatre Space

As stated in the previous chapter, translated plays began to flourish in the 1960s with Chung King-fai's return from the United States. In this chapter pre-1980s trends are analysed in order to provide a perspective on the changes which took place in translated theatre in the 1980s and 1990s, the periods under investigation in this study. We find that early translations were mainly imitations, in which the aim was to remain faithful to the original both in the form and content of the original. We also investigate the ideological implications of faithfulness in translated theatre in this period.

In a postcolonial context, mimicry is a strategy by which people denied an autonomous cultural identity seek legitimacy through imitating and interrogating Western models. Mimicry is usually a combination of "parrotry" and parody. Like the parrot, the "mimic men" copy their masters' voice only to mock it: "the simulated obedience of mimicry is revealed as a form of camouflaged disobedience" (Huggan 1994: 645). Mimicry, in this sense, represents "a difference that is itself a process of disavowal" (Bhabha 1984: 126). Paradoxically, mimicry may destabilise even as it reinforces. The theatre translations of Chung King-fai 鍾景輝 (Zhong Jinghui), The Seals Players 海豹劇團 (Haibao jutuan) and Theatre Space 劇場空間 (Juchang kongjian), by contrast, demonstrate, in different degrees and manners, such a high degree of fidelity and subservience to the Western drama they chose to stage that

they appear to connote the literal notion of mimicry. In Hong Kong, where there has been little evidence of militant opposition to the colonial subject, what could mimicry possibly mean? What would it want to reinforce? What would it want to destabilise? Can one conceive of a case of parrotry without parody?

In this chapter, we will examine the theatre translation approaches of Chung King-fai, The Seals Players and Theatre Space. Their approaches to translation were less adaptative, with minimal changes being made to the original play scripts, and for which "parrotry" is an apt metaphor. In terms of time, Chung, The Seals Players and Theatre Space came into the limelight of the local theatre scene in successive periods. From the mid-1960s onwards, translated theatre began to attract the attention of the general public under the advocacy of Chung, who had been educated at Yale and was at that time simultaneously a college lecturer, television manager and high-profile theatre artist. A decade later, that is, in the mid-1970s, The Seals Players entered the picture as the first theatre troupe dedicated to performing translated plays. Its academic inclination, in terms of membership and repertoire, accentuated the highbrow image of translated theatre in Hong Kong. In 1996, The Seals Players suspended operations for ten years. In 1998, Dominic Cheung, formerly an active member of The Seals Players, founded Theatre Space, also with a leaning towards faithful translations of Western drama. While Chung King-fai believed that he and his translated theatre were faithful representations of the West, The Seals Players asserted that their company was indeed the West itself, or was like a Western soul trapped in an Eastern body. Theatre Space, by contrast, was candid about its inability to be genuinely Western. Instead, its members strove to portray the West they imagined from the books, songs, films and drama they came to know during their formative years. Chung, The Seals Players and Theatre Space invariably represent a

pro-Western approach to translated theatre, but they adopted different attitudes in promoting Western drama and projected different identity dispositions.

Chung King-fai

Chung King-fai is the doyen of translated theatre in Hong Kong. As early as the mid-1960s he introduced contemporary American drama to the Hong Kong academia, and translated drama has since become the mainstay of the offerings on the Hong Kong stage. His particular brand of "foreignisation" (Fong 2006a: 148) has also laid the foundation for theatre translation in the territory. He said that a director should be faithful to the concept of the original script, dutifully representing everything stated in the script. He believed that the playwright is the creator. If the director wants to change the play script substantially, he might as well write a new play himself. The task of the director is to handle the play with due care and respect. He advocated the introduction of foreign drama in its "original sauce and original flavour" 原汁原味 [*yuan zhi yuan wei*] (Chung 1964a). At this point, a few questions should be asked: What is the original sauce? Can one speak of an "original flavour"? If yes, what flavour does the sauce give to Hongkongers? In what ways does the food nourish the local theatre and the local populace?

The halcyon days of Chung's theatre career spanned more than two decades, from the 1960s to the mid-1980s, when he was most active and well known as a theatre actor, director and translator. In 1983, he became the founding Dean of the School of Drama at the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts (APA); thereafter he appears to have been more an educator than a performer. Chung's golden years on stage fall slightly out of the scope of the present research (1980–2008), but Chung's

influence was too significant to be omitted from our discussion. His theatre translation approach and practice pioneered and became the prototype of theatre translation in Hong Kong, a prototype which succeeding dramatists, consciously or subconsciously, followed, deviated from or subverted.

A worldly dramatist

In 1955, Chung King-fai entered the Department of English at Chung Chi College (which was incorporated into the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1963). He then went to Oklahoma Baptist University to study Speech and Drama in 1958 and graduated in 1959. He furthered his studies at Yale University, specialising in performing and directing. He was the first Chinese to obtain a Master of Fine Art degree from the renowned Yale Drama School. In 1962, he returned to Hong Kong and taught at the Hong Kong Baptist College. He set up new courses in acting and directing, which were unprecedented in the history of tertiary education in Hong Kong. He did not treat Western drama as literary reading texts; the focus was instead on theatrical practice. He also founded the drama club of the Hong Kong Baptist College, and became a leading figure in the Hong Kong Amateur Drama Group 香港業餘話劇團 (Xianggang yeyu huajutuan), the most important spoken drama troupe in the 1960s and 1970s. Over the few years after his return from the United States, Chung produced several translated plays that galvanised the translated theatre and local drama scene as a whole into action. The titles he staged during this period include Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* (*Taojin meng* 淘金夢 [A dream of gold-mining; 1964]), Thornton Wilder's *Our Town* (*Xiaocheng fengguang*) 小城風光 [Scenery of a small town; 1965]), and Michael Gazzo's *Hatful of Rain* (L*angzi huitou* 浪

子回頭 [The prodigal son looks back; 1965]).[1] While teaching at the Baptist College, Chung worked as a part-time scriptwriter and director at Rediffusion 麗的呼聲 (Lidi husheng), the first cable television network in Hong Kong (Chung 2007: 240). At Rediffusion, he translated and adapted many Western dramatic works for the television screen, such as *The Glass Menagerie*. In the late 1960s, he joined the new television service—the Television Broadcasting Company, popularly known as TVB—and subsequently became General Programme Manager (Fong 2006a). In 1971, he founded the first television actor training programme at TVB. He also hired a great many talents from the theatre and produced many television drama series in a strongly theatrical (rather than cinematic) style. Chung King-fai's leadership was instrumental in bringing about the "localization of television programme[s] in Hong Kong" (Chung 2007: 250).

In 1983, the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (APA), the first tertiary institution of its kind in the territory, was established; in 1985 it officially enrolled its first cohort of students. Chung King-fai was the founding Dean of the School of Drama and stayed in the post for 18 years. He established a comprehensive degree programme that encompasses acting, playwriting and directing, and adopted an abundance of Western drama for use in teaching and training. During his tenure, he supervised more than 20 productions. The repertoire was remarkably diversified and introduced absurd theatre and Broadway musicals in Cantonese in Hong Kong: for instance, *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, *Grease* and *Guys and Dolls* (Fong 2006a: 141).

After his retirement in 2001, Chung continued to appear on stage and on the television screen. He has obtained numerous honours and awards. He was awarded Best Director four times (1992, 1993, 1996, 1997) and Best Actor five times (1994, 1995,

1996, 1997, 2002) at the Hong Kong Drama Awards. In 2000 he received the Outstanding Achievement Award (Theatre) from the Hong Kong Arts Development Council. In 2001 he was appointed Honorary Fellow of the APA.

Utilitarian mimicry

Chung always came across as a champion of Western drama, through translating, acting and directing. His "fidelity" approach—to produce Western drama in its "original sauce and original flavour—has been compared with "mimicry" (see Fong 2003: 308), and can be more precisely called "utilitarian mimicry", because he was eager to capitalise on the achievement and authority of Western drama and to provide a role model for the Hong Kong theatre.

Fanon, in his famed *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967), claims that mimicry of Western models is a technique which those who have been denied an autonomous cultural identity are forced to use in order to seek legitimacy (i.e., the strategic adoption of "white masks"), and is a direct result of the colonial indoctrination process. Chung, on the other hand, seems to have been quite enthusiastic about acquiring legitimacy for stage drama in the territory through the imitation of Western drama. The 1950s Cold War years witnessed the emergence of a "greenback culture" in Hong Kong,[2] forming a gridlock with the leftist literary power of that time. The US Central Intelligence Agency set up the Asia Foundation and a number of translating and publishing houses in Hong Kong. Literature was given a strong boost, and American culture and values were rigorously promoted. As some critics put it, American greenback culture came to the territory as if it had "engulfed the sky and swept the ground" 鋪天蓋地而來 (*putian gaidi erlai*) (Huang Jichi's 黃繼持 words; Tay,

Huang and Lu 2000: 17). From a cultural point of view, America, rather than Britain, was the true sovereign nation of Hong Kong at that time (Fong 2003: 305). Chung was one of the recipients of the Asia Foundation scholarship who went to study in the United States in the late 1950s. He said that his penchant for contemporary American drama was developed during his time in America. When he returned to Hong Kong, he was inclined to produce contemporary American drama, which was more familiar to him than other Western drama. In fact, his repertoire is characterised by its inclusion of a large number of works by American playwrights such as Arthur Miller, Tennessee Williams and Thornton Wilder. In the 1960s drama was not as popular as it is now. By "importing" American plays, Chung took advantage of the "greenback" trend of that period, and tried to bolster the Western, sophisticated image of stage drama and thus its recognition by the general public.

Mimicry carries a sense of purpose—be it subversion of the Other or protection of the Self—and ultimately affects identity construction. In mimicry, says Bhabha, "the representation of identity and meaning is rearticulated along the axis of metonymy… mimicry is like camouflage, not a harmonization or repression of difference, but a form of resemblance that differs/defends presence by displaying it in part, metonymically" (1984: 131). In his translated theatre, Chung's mimicry was characterised by functionalism, in the sense that he thought both he and the local theatre practitioners should learn from contemporary Western theatrical trends, which would not only make up for the shortcomings but would also give shape to Hong Kong drama. Driven by this clear objective, Chung's mimicry was partial and metonymical. An indiscriminate acceptance and imitation of Western drama was not Chung's ideal. In particular, he was interested more in the form than in the content of Western drama. Ideological import was low on his list of priorities.

The cultural over the national and the market

Gordon Mathews (2004) proposes that identity construction in Hong Kong is subject to the influence of three discourses: the national, the market and the cultural. These three discourses are interdependent, sometimes in competition and sometimes in harmony with each other. Gilbert Fong (2003: 152–58) adopts Mathews' model to analyse the biosphere of Hong Kong theatre, of which Chung's career is a miniature representation. It would be difficult to give a precise description of the effect of the national discourse on Chung. He was always aware of his Chinese ethnicity and the limitations it could impose on his theatrical career in the United States. He understood that as a yellow-skinned Chinese, he would have few performance opportunities and he would never be completely accepted in the mainstream theatre scene in the United States. After the 1997 handover of Hong Kong to China, he was apparently not enthusiastic about being a pro-Beijing propagandist, nor did he express any anti-Communist sentiments in public. Like most Hong Kong people, he was affected by the national discourse on a personal and ideological level. He was keen to promote exchanges between the theatres of Hong Kong, China and Taiwan in his capacity as director of the Hong Kong Federation of Drama, while at the same time retaining his inclination to produce translated drama.

The market discourse seems to have had a more obvious impact on Chung. He has never been a stereotypical iconoclastic artist. To be precise, he has never been a full-time theatre practitioner. Despite his prominence in the local theatre scene, over the years he was also a college lecturer, a high-level manager in television, Dean of the APA School of Drama, as well as a prolific actor, voice-over talent and programme host on radio and television and in films, and has continued to receive a high level of

public exposure and popularity. He seems to be at ease with both high and low culture, and he thrives on a delicate balance between the two. In this respect Chung considers theatre as a form of high culture, and he strives to uphold a high artistic level. He is adamant that his productions should not pander to the taste of the masses, even though he claims that he does not resist low culture. He even took the initiative to participate in low culture with the sole purpose of promoting drama to a broader audience (Fong 2003: 304). In other words, he would not be subservient to the market discourse, but he would try to make use of the market to promote the cultural discourse he believed in.

His predilection for Western drama, and particularly, contemporary American drama, grew out of both artistic and pragmatic concerns. Contemporary American plays appealed to Chung on account of their well designed plots, rich literary values and strong theatricality (Chung 1964b). He also emphasised the educational function of translated drama. He was not keen on elaborating the themes of Western plays and introducing Western ideology to the audience. Rather, according to Chung, translated drama could "train up performing arts talents and broaden the horizon of the Hong Kong audience" (Fong 2003: 295). Specifically, putting Western plays on the Hong Kong stage could solve two main problems:

First, an insufficient supply of original plays. During the 1960s, there was a dearth of good quality original plays in Hong Kong. According to the columnist Jian Erqing 簡而清,

> Good play scripts are hard to come by. This is the major excuse for the lethargy of Chinese theatre in Hong Kong at the moment. … Considering the lack of good original plays, one cannot deny that translated drama is a reasonable way out.
>
> (my translation; Jian 1965)

Another columnist, Li Yinghao 李英豪 (1965), agreed and said that learning from

Western drama was necessary "before Hong Kong could produce one or two outstanding playwrights." In a seminar entitled "New Directions in Modern Drama" 現代劇的新動向 (*Xiandaiju de xin dongxiang*) held on 8 August 1966, Chung professed that "the development of Hong Kong drama is fifty years behind the world standard." He criticised the repertoire of local theatre at that time for being narrow, outdated and repetitive, and the taste of the audience for being rigid and hidebound. That was why he wanted to introduce absurdist theatre and epic theatre to Hong Kong (Chung 1966).

Second, a monotonous performance style. In July 1964, a month after the premiere of *Death of a Salesman*, in an article Chung deplored the straitjacket of realism which was restricting Hong Kong theatre:

> The vision and interest of the Hong Kong audience are still confined to "realism". In other words, they seem to be untroubled by the limitation of the "fourth wall" on stage. Whether it concerns directing, acting, or stage or costume design, realism is the rule of thumb. To put it simply, the audience only consider if the set is "like" or "unlike" [the real world]…
>
> (my translation; Chung 1964b)

Here, Chung appears to understand realism as a style of representation, rather than as an ideology. He was opposed to fidelity in the representation of exact details of real life on stage. In the same article, he also said:

> Western drama has long broken free from the constraints of realism, but Hong Kong drama has not. Still trapped in the cage of realism, Hong Kong drama allows it to strangle its development.
>
> (my translation; Chung 1964b)

In the 1960s, Hong Kong drama emphasised the importance of "reproducing" real life on stage. The major function of stage design was to provide an elaborate and life-like backdrop for the viewing pleasure of the audience (Fong 2003: 300). There

was a popular and somewhat paradoxical assumption that theatre performance should be judged on how faithfully it corresponds to things and events in the real world. Yao Ke 姚克, a leading Hong Kong playwright in the 1960s, agreed with Chung that Hong Kong theatre was trapped in the hackneyed conventions of early Chinese spoken drama. Performance style showed little variation and innovation. The kind of "realism" the local dramatists practised at that time was superficial and exaggerated:

> If the director suggests the use of masks, narrators, nil-backdrop, or anything unconventional, the actors and producers will resist. This is because our horizon is too narrow. Confined by outmoded and traditional concepts, we cannot find a way out.
>
> (my translation; Yao 1964)

Theatre performance was considered primarily as an imitation of reality. There was little room for exploration and experimentation with other performance styles. Chung said it was high time they introduced works by "anti-realist" and absurdist playwrights, such as Eugene O'Neill, Frank Wedekind, Bertolt Brecht and Luigi Pirandello, whom he regarded as "visionaries who subverted realism" (Chung 1964b).

Chung's determination to break away from realism was related partly to the lack of resources on the local theatre scene. In his 1965 production of *Our Town*, he abandoned the use of props and backdrops. The beginning of his translated play script reads:

> No curtain.
> No backdrop.
> Upon arrival in the theatre, the audience will see a half-lit-half-dim stage which is as bare as can be.
> Enter STAGE MANAGER, who wears a hat and smokes a pipe. LH stands a table and a few chairs. RH also stands a table and a few chairs.
>
> (my back translation; Tang and Liu 1976: 6)

Chung followed Thornton's idea that "backdrop and props are constraints on theatricality" (Changfeng 1965). The audience were encouraged to regard the chairs as graves. The actors pretended to drink without actual cups and saucers. The stage manager was sometimes a character in the play; sometimes he acted as the narrator of the story, talking directly to the audience and inviting them onto the stage. The choir sat among the audience. The division and distance between the stage and the audience were thus eliminated. That was Chung's approach to theatricalism, which was considered bold and groundbreaking at the time of the 1964 performance (Changfeng 1965; He 1965). Seasoned local actor Chen Youhou 陳有后 pointed out a practical advantage of Chung's minimalist approach:

> This performance taught us a lesson: The theatre groups in Hong Kong no longer needed to raise a lot of money to put up "realistic" sets. … Props were omitted; they were instead mimed by the actors. Despite its popularity in Europe and America, this style was a new attempt in Hong Kong. Chung was very bold in showcasing this style to the local performance groups. Many problems facing stage performances could then be solved.
>
> (my translation; Chen 2002)

In the late 1950s and the 1960s, most performance troupes, being amateur and not-for-profit organisations, were very short of funds. Government subsidies were non-existent. Chung's approach to theatricalism, which advocated simple stage décor and costume, had the, possibly unintentional, side effect of helping the performance troupes to overcome their financial limitations.

Another kind of "formalism"

In his translated theatre, Chung appeared to be interested more in form than in the introduction of Western philosophy and ideology. He followed the play script very

closely so that the style and story of the original plays could be retained in his translated productions. Here Chung's definition of faithfulness and desire to stage Western drama in its "original sauce and original flavour" need to be somewhat qualified. He did not demand such a rigorously literal translation that every word and phrase of the dialogue should be kept and spoken. Rather he would strictly follow the overall performance design intended by the playwright (Chung 1980). His aim was to re-enact Western stagecraft on the Hong Kong stage.

It would be unjustified to claim that Chung's production did not offer intellectual stimulation. Yet the introduction of new, foreign ideas was so overshadowed by the introduction of new, foreign performance methods that the former became insignificant. Further, new, foreign ideas were often aligned with traditional Chinese beliefs. He strove to find similarities between traditional Chinese culture and Western drama. Although Chung emphasised the fact that the Western plays he selected were "American" and he strove to retain "the American flavour", this Americanism, in terms of sentiments and ideology, was repackaged as a variation on Chineseness. Where Miller identified *Death of a Salesman* as "a tragedy of a common man" (1949), Chung narrowed down the scope to a father-and-son relationship, in which the father desperately wants his sons to succeed like "dragons." (The idea of "wanting sons to be dragons" 望子成龍 [*wang zi cheng long*] is a particularly Chinese idea, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.) Chung's production of *Our Town* led critics to believe that Wilder's story conveys a kind of "Daoist detachment from life and death" (Hu Juren's 胡菊人 words; quoted in Fong 2003: 297). Such insistence on Chineseness can be regarded as a means of risk reduction—to reduce the risk that the local audience would resist the new theatre he wanted to introduce, and to ensure that his Western role models of theatre

production would be well received. If we say that pre-1960s Hong Kong drama was concerned with realism on stage, Chung wanted to topple the dominance of such realism with the introduction of what he called impressionism, minimalism and symbolism. Chung advocated a new paradigm of stage production before a new paradigm of ideology. This is another kind of "formalism", driven by technical needs and a preference for particular artistic discourses.

The Seals Players

The Seals Players, established in 1979, was the first theatre company totally dedicated to staging Western plays in Cantonese in Hong Kong.[4] Deng Xiaoyu 鄧小宇, founding editor of a major local lifestyle monthly called "City Magazine" 號外 (Haowai), aptly summarised the elitism of the company, claiming that The Seals Players were "100% academic" and symbolised the "purity of the ivory tower", i.e., the company was impervious to changes and fashions existing outside academia (Deng 2006). Its founder, Vicki Ooi 黃清霞 (Huang Qingxia), obtained a doctoral degree in drama from the University of Bristol and then taught English literature at the University of Hong Kong (HKU). The Seals Players developed from a student group called The Drama Lab at HKU, which trained students in the use of English through dramatic performances (Lai 2000: 111). Early members of The Seals Players were mainly HKU teachers and students, such as Jane Lai 黎翠珍 (Li Chuizhen), Bernadette Tsui 徐詠璇 (Xu Yongsuan), Lynn Yau 邱歡智 (Qiu Huanzhi), Terence Chang 張灼祥 (Zhang Zhuoxiang) and Kingman Lo 盧景文 (Lu Jingwen). Ooi directed Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night* for the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre Company in 1979. She was inspired by a reference to "seals" in the play and named her theatre company The Seals Players:

> Seals are intelligent and honest. They don't put up any bluffs about the Art of Acting. They admit they're just hams earning their daily fish.
>
> (O'Neill 1955: 105)

Despite the modesty suggested by the quotation, The Seals Players demonstrated a kind of highbrow Eurocentric attitude. First, Western drama was seen as superior to Chinese plays. After the company's inaugural performance, which combined Pai Hsien-yung's 白先勇 short stories "Wandering in a Garden, Waking from a Dream" 遊園驚夢 (*Youyuan jingmeng*) and "Fallen Immortal" 謫仙記 (*Zhexian ji*), Ooi found that her true calling was Western drama instead. She professed to liking only translated drama and stated that Chinese plays were not to her taste (Jonathan Wong 2006b). From then on the repertoire of The Seals Players consisted predominantly of translations of Western drama classics which were highly regarded in academia, such as works by Sophocles, Shakespeare, Anton Chekhov, Eugene O'Neill, Bertolt Brecht, Tennessee Williams, Edward Albee, Sam Sheppard and Harold Pinter. Productions of Chinese plays and locally written plays were few and far between.[5] Ooi considered staging Western plays in Cantonese as a kind of compromise. She wanted to introduce Western drama to the Hong Kong audience and make an impact on the local theatre scene. She believed performing in Cantonese would help reach a wider audience in the territory. She also shied away from seeing performances by most of the local theatre companies, including the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre, whom she despised for their "lack of heart and taste" (Deng 2006). And for obvious reasons, The Seals Players has never produced any Chinese plays in English.

Second, The Seals Players prided itself on accurate language reproduction and correct interpretation of Western drama. The co-founder of the company, Jane Lai, considered that the teaching of Western drama in Hong Kong was inadequate, and that it was the obligation of The Seals Players, who consisted principally of university

teachers and graduates, to fill this void and educate the local theatre circle (Zhong 2007; Lai 2009: 404). She further stated that "drama is the art of speech" and insisted that "Western characters should speak like Westerners", even in a Cantonese translation (Lai's words; Zhong 2007). In 1996 The Seals Players suspended their operations because Ooi deplored the lack of attention which had been paid to verbal expression in the local theatre scene since the mid-1980s (Zhong 2007). She thought that, at the time, "neither the actors nor the audience were interested in the beauty of dialogues", and that they concerned themselves only with singing, lighting and body movement (Ooi's words; Jonathan Wong 2006). This, according to Ooi and Lai, would have an adverse effect on the box office and long-term development of the company (Jonathan Wong 2006b; Tong 2006; Zhong 2007; Lai 2009: 404). Thus it remained inactive until 2006 when Ooi thought that the "illiteracy" of Hong Kong theatre had reached an extreme and unbearable level: "Someone has to speak up when nobody does" (*ibid*.). Upon The Seals Players' resumption of production in 2007, a long-time member, Zhong Binglin 鍾炳霖, maintained that "The Seals Players would never stoop so low as to cater to the standard of the common audience," and fans of The Seals "belong to another level" (Zhong's words; Jonathan Wong 2006b).

Third, The Seals Players insisted on a stringent source-oriented approach in both text and performance style. Jane Lai stated that she "strove to follow closely the original play scripts, in terms of sentence structure, rhythm and accent, so that the beauty of the source texts will not be tainted." The times and background of stories should be retained, so that "an Italian thief would not speak the language of an English gentlemen" (Lai's words; Wang 2008). She was adamant that not a word in the original should be altered or omitted. Such rigorous source-orientation, according to Lai, was demanded by Vicki Ooi, who directed most of the productions by The

Seals Players. When watching rehearsals of translated plays, Ooi would translate the Cantonese dialogues into English in her mind and tried hard to eliminate any tonal or semantic differences between the translations and the original play scripts. She would not tolerate any deviation from the original play scripts. Both Ooi and Lai considered the English originals "good stuff" (好東西 *hao dongxi*), which they tried hard not to ruin through translating (Lai 2000: 112).

Although emphasising foreignness, Lai also believed that the language of translated drama should be close to everyday Hong Kong speech, so that the dialogues would not be jarring to the ear of the audience (Wang 2008). However, it is not clear whether her definition of "everyday speech" was the same as that of the general public in Hong Kong. Lai sometimes failed to grasp the nuances of the Chinese language, especially Cantonese slang. In an interview with the writer, K. B. Chan (2009) revealed that some HKREP directors and actors considered Lai's translations "too scholarly, sometimes incoherent, and not immediately performable". For example, in her translation of *Othello*, entitled 奧德羅 (*Aodeluo*), Lai rendered "a drop of patience" (*Othello* IV.ii.52, "I should have found in some place of my soul / A drop of patience"; Muir 1968: 145) as 一點滴的能耐 (*yi diandi de nengnai* – literally "a drop of ability"). She explained that 滴 (*dik*^{6}) was a pun on 敵 (*dik*^{6} [enemy]) and that 能耐 implied the mental strength of Othello (Wang 2008). The writer suspects that the pun is superfluous and may even be incomprehensible by the common audience. Her translation of the word *patience* is also questionable. It is clear in Shakespeare's text that Othello is talking about his soul, but 能耐 normally refers to physical competence rather than spiritual strength. Although Lai's translation cannot be considered entirely ungrammatical, it does sound strange and is difficult to read aloud fluently.

The Seals Players strove to emulate the Western ambience represented by the original plays. They invariably retained the setting, and the sets and costumes were also Westernised accordingly. Ooi required that the actors should "think, speak and act like Westerners when performing in a Western play" (Cheung 2009). For example, their 2009 production *The House of Bernarda Alba* told the story of Bernarda Alba, a widow who puts her five daughters under house arrest according to ancient Spanish mourning rituals. Her repressive confinement triggers conflicts and finally murders within the household. The set resembled a stone house in 16th-century Spain, and the Chinese actresses were all dressed in black capes and gowns like Spanish ladies in mourning. In the performance there were many Spanish Catholic conventions and rituals, which left the audience bewildered. Ooi, who directed the production, believed that the original play shed a unique light on women's suffocating confinement by a patriarchal society which was still prevalent at that time (Zhong 2009). However, critics like Shi Qi 石琪 condemned the performance as boring, outdated and monotonous. He also made a suggestion: if The Seals Players wanted to portray family strife among women, they could have considered staging Cao Yu's 曹禺 *Wilderness* (原野 *Yuanye*) instead, which would have been more familiar and poignant for the Hong Kong audience (Shi Qi 2009).

Flawed mimesis

Members of The Seals Players were, to borrow the title of V. S. Naipaul's novel, "mimic men" (Naipaul 2002). Thomas B. Macaulay, a senior British administrator, known for establishing the English education system in India—with the "infamous" *Minute on Indian Education* (1835), had made explicit how it was necessary to create "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in

morals, and in intellect" (Macaulay 1835; reproduced in Carter and Harlow 2003: 237). The Seals Players indeed represent a similar group of persons in the context of colonial Hong Kong. Such voluntary eclipse and extension of one's cultural identity can be understood on two levels: production and personal.

The Seals Players' productions were invariably mimicry in the literal sense. Their predominantly Western repertoire and their highly pious rendering of Western drama carried a didactic mission to impose a particular canon of foreign dramatic works onto Hong Kong theatre. In taking on the perceived cultural habits and physical characteristics of Westerners, their productions aspired to be "authentic" reproductions, rather than representations, of Westernism. This emulation of Western cultural forms gave rise to a status hierarchy on the local theatre scene, in which Western canonical plays formed a "reference group" against which all dramatic performances should be assessed.

Members of The Seals Players appear to have internalised their own version of Western discourses and to have considered them an inseparable part of a refined colonial heritage possessed by Hong Kong. In other words, they impersonated and enacted a Westernised identity behind their Chinese appearance. They gave themselves privileged roles as Westernised intellectuals, apparently basking in their status of "high-class Chinese" 高等華人 (*gaodeng huaren*). In most of the interviews and articles about the troupe, the members emphasised their Western education and cultural background: the fact that they were teachers or graduates of the University of Hong Kong, the first university in the territory that was often seen as the cradle of colonial government officials; the fact that they had studied and spent a considerable time abroad, and the fact that they had favoured Western cultural forms since their formative years. They considered it their obligation to provide and promote a correct,

authoritative interpretation of Western drama. Allowing their Westernised identity discourse to overshadow any other discourses, they considered themselves quasi-Westerners. Their penchant for and knowledge of things Western gave them a sense of superiority over other, "common" Hong Kong people.

Any discussion of cultural mimicry would be incomplete without referring to Homi Bhabha's famous article "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse" (1994: 85–92), which describes the equivocal relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. On the basis of previous works by Freud, Lacan, Fanon and other writers such as Kipling, Forster, Orwell and Naipaul, Bhabha proposes that mimicry is an effective and elusive strategy of colonial power and knowledge (85), and that it is essentially a contradictory outcome of a combination of differences. In producing "its slippage, its excess, its difference" (85), it is "an *ironic* compromise" (original italics; 85), which highlights the inherent, inevitable and unchangeable difference between the mimic and the original model—"to be Anglicized is *emphatically* not to be English" (original emphasis; 87). Colonial mimicry is "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite*" (original emphasis; 85). Translation is inherently an embodied text—the original text provides the body of the translated text and might later be deconstructed or even disfigured. To use Bhabha's words, translation is necessarily a "forked tongue" (85): the split between the source and the target is blatant. In the case of The Seals Players, what they wanted to do more than anything else was to suppress the difference between East and West. Any such difference was to be confined to language and physical appearance. The linguistic difference was considered a necessary evil, as Western plays have to be translated into and performed in Cantonese so that, paradoxically, the difference between the local and

the West will one day be eliminated—the local will benefit and be elevated through its exposure to imitative translations of Western works. Jane Lai, for example, made a point of rendering Cantonese dialogues so that they resembled the English originals. Physical appearances, albeit to a certain extent unchangeable, would be Westernised with the aid of costumes, make-up and mannerisms. More importantly, The Seals Players would deny that they were fundamentally different from the West. They considered themselves an extension of the West, or at most a variation on it.

Mimicry emerges "as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal" (Bhabha 1994: 86), and what is to be disavowed is apparently colonial authority and its imperial discourse. The disavowal can be conducted in two ways. First, mimicry is never very far from mockery, since it can appear to parody whatever it mimics. The result is never a simple reproduction of colonial discourse. Mimicry therefore locates a crack in the certainty of colonial dominance, an uncertainty in its control over the behaviour of the colonised. Second, the menace of mimicry does not lie in its concealment of some real identity behind the mask, but comes from its "double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority" (88). Put in another way, the menace of mimicry does not necessarily emerge from some automatic opposition to colonial discourse, but comes from the disruption of colonial authority through mockery and ambivalence.

The Seals Players evinced no such mockery or ambivalence. On the contrary, the company was an example of cultural mimicry being carried out in a strict and literal sense—high-fidelity reproductions and the enthusiastic promotion of the coloniser's culture. Aiming to repeat rather than represent the West, they attempted to create an unsullied resemblance. Thus, The Seals Players were in no way anticolonial. They remained apolitical, since their repertoire was largely unaffected by the changing

sociopolitical conditions of the 1980s, 90s and 2000s. Their ideological investment in the Western plays was scant and indeterminate. Their source-oriented approach towards translation also left little room for mockery or parody. They were bent on making their productions appear "authentic" through faithful translations, the purpose of which was to celebrate Western dramatic classics, as well as their perceived literary and cultural values. Although one is aware that there is bound to be a presence behind the mask, the near-absence or the obscurity of differences between Western plays and The Seals Players' translations actually facilitated the concealment of the presence or identity behind the mask. If there was an identity discourse The Seals Players wanted to disavow, it was more likely to be a Chinese discourse than the colonial British discourse. The company's sinophobia was evidenced by the dearth of original Chinese titles in its repertoire, and by its unabashed distaste for the local Chinese theatre.

Theatre Space

During the self-imposed suspension of productions by The Seals Players, Theatre Space came onto the scene in late 1998 as the second troupe in Hong Kong theatre history dedicated to staging translated drama. There are many obvious similarities between the two troupes,[6] the most obvious of which is that both were self-proclaimed champions of the highest possible fidelity to original play scripts. Moreover, they believed in the "universal appeal" of good play scripts, which should shed light on human nature and resonate with an audience irrespective of their race, geography, cultural or language differences. Both troupes were convinced that they, as intellectuals with access to the Western dramatic gems and masterpieces, were obliged to "stage authentic Western drama" and "broaden the horizons of the Hong

Kong audience" (Cheung 2009).

Didactic function of translated drama

Theatre Space's pro-Western approach to drama could be understood in terms of its repertoire, content, text and the onstage mannerisms of the actors. Like The Seals Players, Theatre Space was partial to Western plays. Out of the 20 titles in its repertoire from 1998 to 2008, 12 were from the United States and 4 from Britain. In addition to the English-language plays, there were also 2 titles from France and 1 from Italy.[7] Only one title came from Japan, which was a small-scale experimental performance. Dominic Cheung 張可堅 (Zhang Kejian), Artistic Director of Theatre Space, described the focus on translated theatre as both a survival tactic and a personal preference (Cheung 2008; 2009). Comparing dramatic works to fishes in the sea, he complained that there was a dearth of "good fishes" in the local theatre—well written Cantonese plays were hard to come by, and still fewer of them could be readily staged without rounds of painstaking revisions. On the other hand, there was a wealth of "good fishes" in the pool of Western dramatic works. It would not be difficult to find an English play with an excellent plot, dialogue and characterisation, and to translate it into Cantonese would be easier than to revise a substandard Cantonese play. Therefore, theatre practitioners in Hong Kong should "see beyond the local" and expand their "fishing grounds" (Cheung 2009). Cheung also pointed out that he and Jacob Yu 余振球 (Yu Zhenqiu) were heavily influenced by Western drama in their formative years. They believed that, as stated in the mission statement of Theatre Space, good translated plays could "stimulate the imagination of the audience", "offer them vivid experiences of real life", and facilitate the development of scenography and theatre art in general (Theatre Space, n.d.). In contrast,

modern-day Hong Kong society, according to Cheung, lacked "depth". In particular, the media culture was puerile and superficial, and the audience, rather undemanding, could be easily satisfied with a tearjerker or a handful of tacky jokes. In the face of this, Theatre Space wanted to instill "gravity" and "solemnity" in the local theatre scene through translating and staging Western drama (Cheung 2009). In this sense, Theatre Space and The Seals Players shared the opinion that Western drama, as a form of highbrow culture, should serve didactic purposes and eventually raise the standard of theatre and culture in the territory.

A macro Hong Kong theatre

Compared with The Seals Players, Theatre Space presented a repertoire that was less ponderous and academically inclined. Instead of household names such as Shakespeare, Shaw, Miller, Brecht and Pinter, one could find contemporary playwrights who were less familiar to the Hong Kong audience, e.g., Yasmina Reza, David Grae and Lanford Wilson. Nor did Theatre Space shy away from the more commercial Broadway successes, such as those by Neil Simon and Steve Martin. This more diversified and slightly adventurous selection, according to Cheung, was random and personal. Cheung and Yu were attracted less by the fame and literary status of the playwrights than the relevance of the plot to the producers' own life experience. Cheung mentioned *Sunday in the Park with George* as an example. He and Yu were touched by the "selfless love" of Georges Seurat for his longtime mistress Dot. Seurat's story also struck a chord with them as it reflected the plight and solitude of struggling artists (Cheung 2009). They therefore decided to translate and stage the play in 2008. (A rerun took place in the summer of 2010.) Paradoxically, Cheung thought that the repertoire of Theatre Space should reflect a "macro"

definition of Hong Kong drama, which means plays that are produced, watched and favoured by Hongkongers, regardless of their origins, as opposed to a "micro" definition that is strictly limited to plays written by local playwrights. The life experiences of theatre practitioners who were born and grew up in Hong Kong served to formulate their convictions about and concepts of art. These convictions would subtly affect their reception of Western drama and ultimately determine the repertoire of local troupes (Cheung 2009). One may say that the repertoire of Theatre Space was personal and pro-Western, but it was in no way a negation or a refutation of a purely local identity discourse. On the contrary, it demonstrated the permeability of the Hong Kong identity, as some Hongkongers, like Dominic Cheung, claimed that Western elements were an intrinsic part of their identities

Theatre Space adopted a rigorously faithful approach to the interpretation of texts. Cheung believed that one should follow the original play as closely as possible, because the only way to understand the author's ideas was to understand the nuances of dialogues (Wang 2008). The value of an excellent dramatic work lies in what it is, and it is not meant to be altered. In order to avoid any distortion of the characterisation and themes of the source text, he tended to adhere to the original tones and syntax. In a similar way to Ooi and Lai, Cheung advocated that dialogues should retain the speech features of the story's background, so that the audience would have a genuine feeling of the time and place of the original play. For instance, the defendants in the *Trial of Nuremberg* should speak, albeit in Cantonese, as a German would in the aftermath of the Second World War. To that effect Cantonese slang and any speech features specific to modern times should be avoided. In Cheung's view, alienation was preferable to colloquialism in translated drama, especially in period plays (Cheung 2009).

Actors in a translated play, according to Cheung, should speak as well as act like foreigners. Cheung chose a middle ground between Chung King-fai's approach, in which Chinese actors should not wear wigs or put on exaggerated make-up, and Vicki Ooi's impersonation approach, in which make-up and costumes should be designed to make actors look as Western as possible. Cheung considered it to be impossible for Chinese actors to appear totally Western. He confessed his unfamiliarity with actual Western mannerisms, as he had not spent a long period of time overseas. Instead, he acquired his knowledge of Western manners and psychology from films and literature from the English-speaking world, as he believed this was how the general audience in Hong Kong would do it. In his view, any such unfamiliarity or deficiencies in knowledge should not bar someone from staging Western plays anyway. All drama performances, according to Cheung, were imitations to different degrees. No modern-day audience would possess a perfect knowledge of all period features—"You think you know what Chinese in the Sung dynasty were like; in fact you don't. Yet you would not question the validity of Cantonese opera and stop going to the shows" (Cheung 2009). Therefore, dramatists should use their discretion to imagine and create their own versions of Western characters. Theatre Space actors were required to adopt a method similar to that of Stanislavski, which was to "immerse [themselves] in the world of the play and internalize the psychology of the characters" (Cheung 2009). In other words, they were expected to produce a Hongkong-style representation, rather than a replication, of the Western world.

Obfuscating the Self

The Seals Players and Theatre Space were staunch supporters of the foreignising

translation approach. This is perhaps related to their shared faith in the universal appeal of good theatre, which is the same for Hongkongers, or any other group of people, as for the original target audience. Changes in language and location, if well executed, would not compromise the poignancy of the play. Both companies insisted that their repertoires were not concerned with social or political issues. Instead, it was human nature that interested them, and human nature should be the same across all languages and cultures. Dominic Cheung believed that good plays could transcend cultural limits and national boundaries, so he seldom changed the content when translating (Wang 2008).

Although both companies made similar pledges of fidelity, The Seals Players and Theatre Space differed in their performance styles. While members of The Seals Players aspired to *be* Westerners on stage, Theatre Space strove to do "impressions" of Westerners on stage, although these "impressions" were authentic. The Seals Players' conviction was that they were indeed a kind of "discounted" Westerners or "marked-up" Chinese, whereas Theatre Space contended that their Western taste was acquired—they were attracted to Western culture, and they were capable of absorbing and representing it naturally.

In terms of identity politics, the two troupes represented a type of quintessential colonial Hong Kong identity, which in turn represented a traditional bourgeois class championing Western culture and values over everything else. They tended to reinforce rather than destabilise the Westernised identity discourse introduced by British colonial rule, and they appeared to be more of a straightforward imitation than an adaptation of a stereotypical colonial subject. If they could be considered cultural mimics, they would claim that they were, to borrow Bhabha's phrases (1994: 85) again, more "almost the same" than they were "not quite". Rather than

establishing a Hong Kong identity from scratch, they were asserting their rights to a Eurocentric modern world, and pressing their claim to full membership of a wider human civilisation.

At the same time, both companies conjured up visions of the West that were elusive, fantastic and discriminatory. Despite their proclaimed bilingual and bicultural proficiency, as well as their didactic disposition, they were surprisingly reticent, in both the media and personal interviews, about why they chose Western plays to work on, how they perceived them, and what relevance these plays had to Hong Kong. (The writer once asked Dominic Cheung similar questions in an interview, but he was unable to provide concrete answers.) If translation provides a privileged index of cultural self-reference, through a systematic distinction between Self and Other (Hermans 2002), their mimetic tendency tended to obfuscate their Self image.

Different Kinds of Faithfulness

The trend of source-oriented translated theatre was started by Chung King-fai in the mid-1960s, given a highbrow image by The Seals Players in the late 1970s and the 1980s, and then popularised by Theatre Space from the mid-1990s onwards. Linked by their espousal of Western drama and of the principle of fidelity when translating, Chung, The Seals Players and Theatre Space, nevertheless, continue to differ in their ways of representing the West. Chung still insists on showcasing "authentic" Westernness in his drama productions, but he retains his Chineseness and strives to find similarities between East and West, which he hopes will serve as vantage points from which to view the foreign world. The world on Chung's stage is to be

considered an honest reflection of the West. The Seals Players adopt a profoundly Westernised outlook at the expense of Chineseness. Members of The Seals Players are made to look like Westerners on stage, and their translated drama is to be perceived as if it were the foreign world itself. By contrast, Theatre Space makes no claims regarding the authenticity or accuracy of the "Westernness" it presents on stage. The foreign world presented in its translated drama is but an "imagined" Westernised world based on the members' observations of foreign people, and on books they have read and various forms of performing arts they have seen, or, in other words, a Hong Kong-style West. Today, "faithful" translated drama remains an important part of the local theatre, despite the emergence of localised drama adaptations advocated by Rupert Chan and Szeto Wai-kin (whose works will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 7 respectively). Chung and the two theatre companies are still active on the theatre scene, championing their pro-Western approach to translation and theatre. Their works have often been, and still are, well received and acclaimed. This is proof of the longevity of translated theatre, as well as of the diverse ways in which Hongkongers receive Western drama. The West, albeit in various forms, has always been indispensable in the make-up of the Hong Kong identity.

This chapter has examined various approaches to remaining faithful to the original in translating foreign plays in Hong Kong; in the next few chapters we will examine some less faithful renditions. The 1980s witnessed the advent of drama adaptation in Hong Kong, with special emphasis on the local language and culture. The movement from faithful translation to liberal adaptation can be considered a progressive evolution, which demonstrates more creativity and confidence in the Self, and a greater capability to strengthen the Self through the Other.

NOTES

1. For a detailed analysis of these three productions, see Fong (2003: 293–300).

2. For a detailed discussion of the "greenback culture" in Hong Kong, see Fong (2003: 301–2, 305), Liu (1999: 199–204) and Tay, Huang and Lu (2000: 10–20).

3. Gilbert C. F. Fong (2006b) discusses the dramaturgy of Huang Zuolin and the impact of contemporary Western drama on Huang.

4. For a more detailed history and chronology of The Seals Players, see Lai (2009: 399–410).

5. In the year 1986–1987, The Seals Players mounted three short original Chinese plays under the series title "On the Hong Kong Stage" 香港舞台上 (*Xianggang wutai shang*) (Lai 2009: 408). In addition to adapting Pai Hsien-yung's short story for the stage, they also performed Gao Xingjian's *Wild Man* 野人 (*Yeren*) in 1990, after Vicki Ooi resigned from the post of Artistic Director and Law Kar 羅卡 succeeded her. In the same series Ye Si 也斯, a poet and comparative literature scholar in Hong Kong, adapted Eileen Chang's 張愛玲 short story "Jasmine Petals" (茉莉香片 *Moli xiangpian*) into a short play entitled *Jasmine* (茉莉 *Moli*). *Wild Man* and *Jasmine* were the only two Chinese plays in The Seals Players' repertoire.

6. Dominic Cheung, founding Artistic Director of Theatre Space, admitted to a strong personal connection with The Seals Players that spanned more than 20 years. He was prompter for Vicki Ooi's *Long Day's Journey into Night* in 1978, and then continued to participate in almost every production of The Seals Players until the company suspended its operations in 1993. He studied translation with Ooi at the University of Hong Kong in 1987 (Cheung 2009; Theatre Space 2010). In a newspaper interview he referred to Ooi as his "respected mentor" (恩師 *enshi*) (Ngai 2007).

7. Productions based on non-English titles were secondary translations, i.e., the Cantonese play scripts were translated from English translations of the original texts. For instance, the performance text of *The Visitor*, which was originally written in French by Eric-Emmanuel Schmit, was translated into Cantonese by Dominic Cheung from the English translation (Cheung 2008; 2009).

Chapter 4

AVENGER WITHOUT A CAUSE*

Hamlet in Hong Kong

This chapter deals with the China/West dilemma of Hongkongers through the study of theatre translations of *Hamlet* in Hong Kong, with a particular focus on Richard Ho's 1979 version. The preliminary proposition is that the resulting Hongkongness is a unique adaptation of a cultural Britain to a cultural China, whereby the cultural includes the historical but shies away from the political, economic or geographical.

Presence through Absence

In China and Taiwan, the story of the Danish prince has been a platform on which Chinese theatre practitioners told their own stories and which they invested with their own ideologies.[1] What is interesting about the adaptations is not how "authentic" they were: that is, how closely they adhered to the original (as in the retrieval of authorial intentions or reproduction of the "truth" about Shakespearean plays), but the dynamics between where the performances took place and the intentions of the translators/adaptors. As is evident from the performances of *Hamlet* over the years, in being adapted to the cultural environment of China and Taiwan,

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* Quotations from *Hamlet* are taken from *Hamlet (The Arden Shakespeare)*, ed. Harold Jenkins (London and New York: Methuen, 1982). Quotations from *Hamlet: Sword of Vengeance* come from *Wangzi fuchou ji* 王子復仇記, trans. (with introduction) Richard Ho (Hong Kong: Xuejin chubanshe, 1979). All back translations from Chinese to English are done by the writer, unless otherwise stated.

Hamlet has been interpreted and reshaped from the perspectives of the local cultural tradition and personal interpretations, resulting in the creation of an array of "Chinese Hamlets". The artists manipulated the story of *Hamlet* and fashioned narratives built around Chinese politics and aesthetics. One may detect a gradual shift in attention from the national and the collective to the regional and the individual. The Hamlets in China and Taiwan never aspired to be the same great Dane Shakespeare intended him to be. The adaptations went beyond colloquialisation of speeches and the change of settings, costumes and other theatrics. The Chinese dramatists invested their energy in instilling *their* Hamlets with meanings specific to the local contexts at the time of performance. The story of the Danish court was aligned synchronically with the here-and-now of the cultural China at the time, on personal or national levels. *Hamlet* was no longer a story in itself. It was but a vehicle through which the storytellers, i.e., the translators, directors, actors, etc, told their own stories. In other words, the Chinese adaptations of *Hamlet* are not about *Hamlet*; they are more about the Chinese adaptors themselves (and their audience) than *Hamlet*.

The capacity of *Hamlet* to represent the idea of Self was also tapped in Hong Kong, but in an entirely different (though not exactly opposite) manner from those parts of Greater China. To date there have been only two *Hamlet* translations on the Hong Kong stage, one by Richard Ho 何文滙 (He Wenhui)[2] and the other by Rupert Chan 陳鈞潤 (Chen Junyun). The focus of this chapter is on Ho's sinified version of *Hamlet* that was first staged in 1978, with Chan's literal translation, staged in 2006, also being brought in for purposes of comparison.

Ho's *Hamlet* was the first professional production of a Shakespearean play done in Cantonese. Staged by the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre (HKREP) between 30

December 1977 and 22 January 1978 for ten performances at the City Hall Theatre, it was one of the highlights in the inaugural season of HKREP. Richard Ho retitled the Shakespearean tragedy *Wangji fuchou ji* 王子復仇記 [A tale of the prince's revenge]. It also has an English title–*Hamlet: Sword of Vengeance*.[3] Ho started the translation in 1970, completed it in 1977, and directed and played the lead role in the HKREP production in the same year. On 27–29 October 1989 an amateur troupe called the Lutheran Performing Arts Group 路德演藝社 (Lude yanyishe) put on a performance of Ho's *Vengeance* at the City Hall Studio Theatre.[4] In 2005 there was another Cantonese translation of *Hamlet* on the Hong Kong stage. The translator was Rupert Chan and the director was Tang Shu-wing 鄧樹榮 (Deng Shurong). It was a student production by the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts. The performance was entitled *Hamuleite* 哈姆雷特[Hamlet], a now-familiar transliteration of the original title. Later, on 22–25 November 2007, Ho's *Vengeance* was rerun on a larger scale by the Greater China Culture Global Association 大中華全球文化協會 (Da Zhonghua quanqiu wenhua xiehui)) in the Auditorium of City Hall. The same play script was rendered into Putonghua, performed in Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare's home town, in April 2009 ("Two Cultures One Hamlet", 16 June 2009).

Adaptation, Definitely Not Translation

To regard *Vengeance* as a translation in a general sense is probably something Richard Ho would frown upon. *Vengeance*, according to Ho, is decidedly an adaptation, which should not be compared with Shakespeare's original, as the two would never be the same (see Ho 1992: 32–35). He defines translating *Hamlet* as "translating every single word and sentence of the English original into a foreign language", where:

> Not only must the plot and the characters be unsullied, but the imagery and the language features should also be retained wherever possible. To stage such a translation,

> actors, dressed in the 16th- or 17th-century Danish attire, should perform scene after scene and imitate the mannerisms of British actors in the 16th or 17th century. The essence of the original play should be preserved as much as possible.
>
> (my translation; Ho 1992: 32)

According to this definition of faithfulness, Ho considers staging a word-to-word literal translation of the Bard's text on a modern Chinese stage impossible, because it would result in what Ho calls a "double time scheme" (1979: 6)—English/Danish (it is basically an English play with a Danish setting) and Chinese—and difficulties would be bound to arise. Chinese actors would look strange performing a story set in Denmark in the Middle Ages in either Chinese or Danish period costumes, and dialogues would seem to come from the wrong mouths. The charm of the Shakespearean dialogues would be spoilt and the performance in general would lose credibility (*ibid.*). The effect of the performance would also be compromised. Given the linguistic and cultural differences, "certain scenes that are vivid and moving in the original language would seem irrelevant, inexpressive and uninspiring" (my translation; Ho 1992: 35). The incongruity would be disorienting, leaving the audience stuck, like Hamlet himself, in a chaotic world.

According to Ho, there are two options for the translator: to make the Chinese actors appear convincingly English/Danish, which is impractical given that the dialogues would be delivered in Chinese; or to change the English/Danish story into a Chinese story, which Ho considered feasible. With changes to the background, plot, imagery, ideology and language, the product cannot be considered a "translation", and would be more aptly referred to as an "adaptation" (Ho 1992: 36). In the case of adaptation, according to Ho, translation is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. An adaptor should start from a free translation, try his best to capture the plot, the dialogues and the sentiments of the original play, and then fit the whole story into a different context. This approach would impart feelings of both "freshness" and

"familiarity" to the target audience. The adaptor is granted *carte blanche* to revamp the play script and make it suitable to the new performance context. In this way, he vehemently rejects any criticisms of disrespect or infidelity to Shakespeare (see Ho 1992: 34–36, 42). To him, the act of adapting *Hamlet* is an affirmation of the tragedy's value and a salute to Shakespeare (Ho 1992: 37). If there is anything to which the adaptation is bound, it is the plot of the original play. The onus is on the adaptor to replace the Danish background with one that is compatible with the plot, and all other theatrical devices should thus gravitate towards the new *mise en scène*.

What is the new *mise en scène* in *Vengeance*? How did Richard Ho achieve it, and to what effect? In the following section the adaptation tactics Ho used in *Vengeance* will be discussed. He wrote of his adaptation: "Which adaptor would not intrude on his adaptation? Adaptation is a phase of creation. Without intrusion, how could adaptation ever come into being?" (my translation; Ho 1992: 41) Ho's adaptation tactics can be encapsulated in three points: background shift, skipping the minor and keeping the major, and the sinification of dialogues.

Background Shift

The three "grand themes of Western literature", according to Susan Jacoby in *Wild Justice: The Evolution of Revenge*, are love, "the acquisition of worldly goods" and power, and revenge (1983: 14). Revenge is a primary motive for the behaviour of many dramatic characters and remains one of the major themes of world drama. A cataloguing of the great plays of world drama would demonstrate that revenge was an early, common and important theme. Kevin J. Wetmore, Jr. points out that revenge is firmly rooted in the theatrical traditions of the East and the West, and remains a

major theme of drama (2008: 1, 12).

A. H. Thorndike coined the term "revenge tragedy" to label a group of about three dozen English Renaissance plays which incorporated elements of revenge into their dramaturgy (1902: 125–220). Since then the category has been considered a significant one in English Renaissance theatre. In *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy*, Bowers posits what he terms the "Kydian formula" for revenge plays. The elements of this formula include the idea that the "fundamental motive for tragic action is revenge", a vengeance-seeking ghost, hesitation on the part of the avenger, madness used as a significant dramatic device, machinations used both by and against the avenger, multiple deaths (often of innocent bystanders in addition to villains), accomplices on both sides of the vendetta (who are often among those killed), an "almost complete[ly] Machiavellian" villain, and a "terrible, fitting, and ironic" death for the villain at the play's climax (Bowers 1959: 71–72).

Hamlet, usually considered the greatest in the English tragedy tradition, contains all the elements of the Kydian formula and falls into the category of revenge tragedy. Written during the first part of the 17th century (probably in 1600 or 1601), *Hamlet* was probably first performed in July 1602 (Jenkins 1982: 13). As was common practice during the 16th and 17th centuries, Shakespeare borrowed for his plays ideas and stories from earlier literary works. *Hamlet* appears to be a text of multiple indebtedness. It is generally believed that the story of *Hamlet* was taken from several possible sources, including a 12th-century Latin history of Denmark, *Historiae Danicae*, compiled by Saxo Grammaticus, and a prose work by the French writer François Belleforest, entitled *Histoires Tragiques* (see Jenkins 1982: 85–96). The raw material that Shakespeare appropriated in writing *Hamlet* is the story of a Danish prince whose uncle murders the prince's father, marries his mother, and claims the

throne. The court of Elsinore becomes corrupt, and the prince must undergo an ordeal not of his own choosing.

Hamlet is a typical revenge tragedy, in that it contains the elements of injustice, madness, foul murder, court disputes, foreign invasion, legitimacy of rulership, as well as romance between aristocrats. These revenge-related elements were just as easily accepted in Chinese theatre as in Japanese theatre (Wetmore 2008: 6–11). Richard Ho intended to go the extra mile—in order to facilitate the audience's identification with the story, he sinified the setting as well (Ho 1979: 6). While coming down harshly on *Vengeance*,[5] Simon Chau agrees with Ho that the Danish story is similar to the stories of traditional Chinese opera and suitable for relocation to a Chinese context. Alongside the revenge theme and related elements, it could be reassuring to the Chinese audience that order is restored towards the end of the play—the villains are killed, the wrongs are righted, and the prince gets his revenge. The whole story might appear to the Chinese mind as a panegyric on both loyalty and filial piety (Chau 1981: 76–77; Ho 1979: 6–7).

Through sinifying *Hamlet* Ho strove to create a "period drama in a new style" 新派古裝劇 (*xinpai guzhuang ju*). He called *Vengeance* a "period court drama" (古裝宮闈劇 *guzhuang gongweiju*) (1979: 6). Connecting between drama and history is in fact as common in Shakespearean dramaturgy[6] as in Chinese literature. For example, *wuxia*[7] 武俠 and historical novelists such as Jin Rong 金庸 and Nangong Bo 南宮搏, both household names in Hong Kong, often adopted that method to good effect. Ho's approach was different in the sense that he did not merely re-imagine authentic history. Rather than fictionalising history, Ho's approach can be described as historicising fiction. He borrowed a foreign story (it does not really matter if the story is historical or fictional) and transplanted it in a Chinese historical context. The

product tampers with notions of distance and authenticity. Fictionalising history allows the writer distance and freedom to comment on or even subvert grand narratives. Backed up by a Chinese historical context, Ho's adaptation of *Hamlet* is able to achieve credibility and familiarity with the audience.

The period in Chinese history that Ho chose for *Vengeance* is the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907–960) (hereafter "the Five Dynasties") period, an era of political turmoil. Between the fall of the Tang dynasty and the founding of the Song dynasty, five dynasties followed one another in quick succession in the north, and more than 12 independent states were established, mainly in the south. The transience of the warlord regimes accompanied a laxity in ethics and morals, both socially and politically. It was an era, according to Ho, when "anything could happen" (1978: 6). In particular, the anarchy in Southern Han, when there was a similar case of a man killing his elder brother and usurping the throne (Ho 1977: 2), presents a striking parallel with the Denmark portrayed in *Hamlet*. When Liu Yan 劉龑, the founder of Southern Han, died, his third son, Liu Hongdu 劉弘度, succeeded him. Liu Hongdu overindulged in alcohol and frequented prostitutes, neglected his duties as emperor and infuriated the nation. Coveting the throne, his brother Liu Hongxi 劉弘熙 killed all fifteen princes in the line of succession and eventually assassinated the king himself. Liu Hongxi's reign was also just another reign of violence and debauchery. He set up a "hell on earth" (活地獄 *huo diyu*) and imposed cruel punishments on political dissidents. He built thousands of extravagant palaces and frequently threw wild parties. He also slept with his female cousins and his daughters-in-law.

Against this background of moral decay, *Hamlet*'s story of incest, regicide and fratricide would seem plausible. The historical figures, whose lives of dissipation

were so similar to the *Hamlet* characters, appear to be apt substitutes for the Danish characters. Richard Ho grafted the *Hamlet* story onto this period of Chinese history and named the major characters after real historical figures in the Southern Han (see Table 1). For example, King Hamlet is renamed Liu Hongdu 劉弘杜 (Cantonese: *Lau*^{4} *Waang*^{4}*-do*^{6}; homonym of 劉弘度) and Claudius is Liu Hongxi 劉弘希 (*Lau*^{4} *Waang*^{4}*-hei*^{1}; homonym of 劉弘熙). Hamlet takes the family name Liu and becomes Liu Huan 劉桓 (*Lau*^{4} *Woon*^{6}). Other characters are also given sinified names. Ho took the accented syllables of their English names and made up Chinese names for the characters from these syllables. For example, Polonius is renamed Li Bo 李博 (*Lei*^{5} *Bok*^{3}), wherein 博 means breadth of knowledge, hinting at his status as a high-ranking government counsellor. His daughter Ophelia is renamed Li Rufei 李如菲 (*Lei*^{5} *Yue*^{4}*-fei*^{1}; meaning "like fern"); and his son Laertes, Li Rulong 李如龍 (*Lei*^{5} *Yue*^{4}*-lung*^{4}; meaning "like a dragon"). The names of the two King's Officers Marcellus and Bernardo are Mo Ji莫驥 (*Mok*^{6} *Kei*^{3}) and Ma Wei 馬威 (*Ma*^{5} *Wei*^{1}), which hint at their jobs, since both names contain the 馬 [horse] radical. The use of these Chinese names differentiates *Vengeance* from Rupert Chan's straightforward transliteration (see Table 6.1).

The set, costumes and lighting for the 1977 production of *Vengeance* were designed by local artists. The grey-tone setting was very simple, consisting of a central staircase and several movable structures that could be reassembled into various permutations. Ho indicated that these structures were inspired by Tang dynasty architecture, and the costumes also followed the style of court dress of the Tang period. The minimalistic costume design and the spacious stage were intended to facilitate the movement of the actors, who were required to fight with their swords and perform traditional Chinese dances and acrobatic tricks (1977: 2; 1992: 8). Ho

gave the actors a set of highly literary, if not old-fashioned, dialogues filled with classical poems and proverbs. In short, the presentation was unmistakably Chinese.

The theatrical marriage of an English literary classic and traditional Chinese performance format in *Vengeance* received mixed reviews. The play reminded some critics of Chinese folklore (Yun 1978), some of Cantonese opera (Guobin 1978c; Yun 1978; Zheng 1978), and some of television *wuxia* and period court drama (Li 1978; Yun 1978). Ho's assiduous efforts in substituting a Southern Han background and substantiating the literary and historical details were widely applauded as "most fitting" (適合不過 *shihe buguo*), "consistent" (有連貫性 *you lianguan xing*) and "convincing" (有說服力 *you shuifu li*) (Guobin 1978a; Shi 1978a; Shi 1978b; Yun 1978; Zheng 1978). *Vengeance* did inspire a sense of "familiarity" (Lan Yu 1978) among the audience. While some critics considered the sinified *Hamlet* "clever" (聰明 *congming*), "diligent" (用功 *yonggong*), "innovative" (有創意 *you chuangyi*) and "refreshing" (耳目一新 *er mu yi xin*) (Guobin 1978a; Shi 1978a; Shi 1978b; Yun 1978; Zheng 1978), others dismissed it as "absurd" (荒誕 *huangdan*), "unheard of" (聞所未聞 *wen suo wei wen*) and "neither fish nor fowl" (不倫不類 *bu lun bu lei*) (Chau 1978a). *Vengeance* was considered as showing "only hubbub but no philosophy ideas" (有的是熱鬧，而不是哲理 *you de shi renau, er bushi zheli*), to the extent that the entertainer Shakespeare outshone the poet Shakespeare (Yun 1978). It was also criticised for having "melodramatised" the "classical" work and "turned a tragedy into a comedy" (把悲劇改爲喜劇 *ba beiju gaiwei xiju*) (Fang 1978). The overall performance was smooth, but not at all impressive (Zheng 1978).

Vengeance could thus not be considered a triumph, as the critics were divided in opinions. One critic remarked that the sinification of the background had succeeded in evoking an impression of "Hongkongisation" 香港化 (*Xianggang hua*) (Yun 1978)

and another said it suggested "a feeling of the times" 時代氣息 (*shidai qixi*) (Li Huachuan 1978). Yet another critic pointed out that the performance should not be considered a failure so long as the adaptation was internally consistent and the language evinced authenticity and an organisation of its own (Guobin 1978a).

Skipping the Minor, Keeping the Major

Hamlet, comprising 3,931 lines in total, is the longest play written by Shakespeare. In 1942, when Liang Shih-qiu's 梁實秋 [Liang Shiqiu] translation was staged by Jiao Juyin 焦菊隱 in Chongqing, the performance lasted close to six hours, from eight in the evening until two in the morning. Richard Ho thought that such a long running time would be unacceptable to the modern Hong Kong audience (Ho 1992: 44). Thus the cuts in his translation are drastic: less than half of *Hamlet* survived (see Table 6.2). He remained unapologetic about the cuts:

> Cutting short the original play script and reconnecting the scenes could be in many ways difficult and unrewarding. Whether you cut the play or not, you would be liable to criticisms. The reconnections might appear unnatural and the audience might find the new version boring. However, such limitations might be overcome if the time and the background of the story were changed. The adaptor could make use of his or her talent and experience and express his or her feelings even more freely than in a translation. As the background is shifted the adaptation would be further distanced from the Shakespearean original. The adaptor could then add his or her own dialogues, ideas and even create new actions. The original language, ideas and actions that have become unsuitable in the new story context could be cut; the audience would not mind and would even await the cuts with curiosity.
>
> (my translation; Ho 1992: 35)

Ho's principle is to "skip the minor and keep the major" (遺小存大 *yi xiao cun da*) (Ho 1979: 6). As he considered his target text an adaptation, he could "delete, abbreviate or change the original play where appropriate, so that the story would be concise and

poignant, and the characters' personality traits would be kept intact but include a glimmer of Chineseness" (my translation; Ho 1992: 44). From this it can be deduced that by "the major" he was probably referring to the plot and the leading characters. He added that the "major" elements of the play should be compatible with the sinified background. In his reference to "minor" elements, he was talking about those characters, actions and dialogues which would appear "unnatural" in the new dramatic context. They should be cut, regardless of the fact that they might be famous or familiar passages. For the sake of the "completeness" and "dramaticality" of the adaptation, the original play should be abridged and altered, and that, Ho emphasised, was an important task for the adaptor (1992: 49)

Revenge-centric

The Chinese title—王子復仇記 (*Wangzi fuchou ji*), which means "a tale of the prince's revenge"—spells out the core action of the translated version of the play. It is possible that Ho intended to retain *Hamlet* as a revenge tragedy. It will thus be constructive to draw on the Kydian formula again to describe Ho's strategy. Kyd requires that in a revenge tragedy there should be a revenge-seeking ghost, a hero-avenger, a villain, feigned madness and hesitation on the part of the hero-avenger, machinations used both by and against the avenger, multiple deaths and the completed revenge (Bowers 1959: 71–72). The list below summarises the flow of events in *Hamlet* (see Wetmore 2008: 5), indicating in square brackets where Ho captures each event in *Vengeance* (see Table 6.2 for a detailed breakdown of the events in *Vengeance*):

- The hero-avenger is introduced [*Hamlet* I.i; *Vengeance* I.i].
- A corrupt state is established as the background [*H*: I.ii; *V*: I.ii].

- The avenger must now undergo an ordeal not of his own choosing [*H*: I.v; *V*: I.v].
- The avenger then feigns madness (or truly becomes mad) [*H*: II.i; *V*: II.i].
- The avenger seeks to confirm the truth of the ghost's tale [*H*: III.ii; *V*: II.v].
- The avenger plots against the murderer [*H*: III.ii, III.iv; *V*: II.v, II.vii].
- The avenger hesitates [*H*: III.iii; *V*: II.vi].
- The villain plans to counter-attack [*H*: III.i; *V*: II.iv].
- The avenger avoids traps set for him by the murderer [*H*: IV.vi, IV.vii; *V*: III,ii, III.iv].
- The avenger kills the villain and several other people [*H*: V.ii; *V*: III.vi].

Vengeance duly captures the essential actions of a revenge tragedy. What Ho regarded as the "major" can be said to have been retained. However, the textual cuts in *Vengeance* are severe, resulting in less than half of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* surviving. Only the characters related to the revenge theme are retained. Marcellus and Bernardo are kept, but only for a fleeting appearance in Act I Scene 1 to report the first appearance of the Ghost. Characters not directly related to the revenge—such as Young Fortinbras, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, Osric, Francisco, Reynaldo and the Gravediggers—are taken out and scenes and dialogues featuring them are eliminated (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Some scenes are changed; e.g., Ophelia's madness scene ends with her charging at Laertes with a sword because in her hallucination she mistakes him for her father's murderer. Her songs are gone, and the entire madness scene, which is some 48 lines in its original length, has been cut to nine lines in the translated script. The Gravediggers' scene has been deleted entirely. Hamlet's second and fourth soliloquies are also cut in their entirety, the first soliloquy has become eight sentences of prose, and the famous "To be or not to be" soliloquy reduced to

around twelve sentences, less than half of its original length. In an article recounting the HKREP productions, Daniel Yang, former Artistic Director, described *Vengeance* with some misgivings, pointing out that it was "quite different from the normal *Hamlet* production one sees on the English stage, even though the Director/Adaptor claimed that he had tried his best to keep the famous passages intact and the translation faithful to the original" (2002: 76).

Over and above the plot elements mentioned in the Kydian formula, there are some structural, dramaturgical and thematic elements in *Hamlet* that are worth exploring. In the following sections we will investigate these elements in order to determine how Ho's abbreviations and deletions, alongside his sinification, made his *Hamlet* different.

Causes of revenge

In all revenge plays, a cause for revenge must first be established. The most common primary cause of revenge is the death of a parent or other family member, which is often called "blood revenge" (Wetmore 2008: 3), as in the Shakespearean play, in which the ghost of Old Hamlet appears to his son crying "Avenge me!" A secondary cause of revenge is the need to restore honour, which may have to do with challenges to one's honour (or power and authority) or transgressions of moral law (e.g., adultery, betrayal). In *Hamlet* Old King Hamlet had his wife and throne taken from him by his brother Claudius. The honour of the royal family and the nation as a whole has been tarnished. As Susan Jacoby argues, the target of revenge in such a play as *Hamlet* is "beyond the reach of the traditional justice system" (1983: 9), as

Claudius, Hamlet's uncle and stepfather, is now monarch of Denmark. Katherine Eisaman Maus also points out in the introduction to *Four Revenge Tragedies* (1995) that one cannot vote a corrupt or malevolent noble out of office, but one can kill him (iii). It should also be noted that Hamlet's revenge is not a merely private act; it is public, it is a restoration of justice. In England, revenge is the state's prerogative because homicide is not considered a crime against the victim, but rather against the state (Anderson 1987: 13). In *Hamlet*, Act I Scene 5, the Ghost says:

GHOST: Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder. (I.v.25)

GHOST: Murder most foul, as in the best it is,
But this most foul, strange and unnatural. (I.v.27–28)

GHOST: A serpent stung me—so the whole ear of Denmark
Is by a forged process of my death
Rankly abus'd … (I.v.35–37)

GHOST: Thus was I, sleeping, by a brother's hand
Of life, of crown, of queen at once dispatch'd, …
If thou has nature in thee, bear it not,
Let not the royal bed of Denmark be
A couch for luxury and damned incest. (I.v.74–75, 82–83)

The repetition of the word *unnatural* (lines 25 and 27) emphasises "the violation of the natural tie between kin. Its sense is also reinforced by *strange*" (Jenkins: 1982, n. 28). The serpent that stung Old Hamlet also stung the whole nation. The wickedness of the murder lies mainly in its disruption of a greater moral order. In *Vengeance*, what Hamlet undertakes is more like a private vendetta, to avenge the death of his father, than a restoration of public justice. Liu Hongdu's (Old Hamlet) accusation against Liu Hongxi (Claudius) mainly concerns his adultery and murder, rather than his moral depravity.

鬼： 是。最惡毒的謀殺！

[GHOST: Yes. Murder most foul!]

鬼： ……一般人以爲我在御花園午睡的時候，被毒蛇咬死。其實這死因是假的，但是全國人民都相信這是真的。……

[GHOST: … Common people think I was stung to death by a poisonous serpent during my siesta in the palace garden. In fact this cause of death is false, but everyone in the country believes it is true.]

鬼： 是那個亂倫姦惡的畜生，詭詐過人，憑着他陰險的手段，誘惑你的母后。……被我的親兄弟同時奪取了我的生命、我的皇位和我的皇后——皇兒，如果你有人性的話，你就不能坐視朝廷之上，藏奸養逆，你更應該爲父皇報仇。

[GHOST: That incestuous, adulterous beast! He is exceedingly cunning. He used his devious tactics to seduce your mother, the queen. … My life, my throne and my queen were snatched away by my kin brother all at the same time—My son, if you're human, you should no longer sit in the court and tolerate such a scoundrel and serve such a traitor. You should avenge your father, the king.]

(Ho 1979: 21–22, I.v)

The rightness and urgency of the revenge are never in question. Yet Liu Hongdu's focus on personal misery—his loss of life, crown and wife—and condemnation of Liu Hongxi's debauchery and slyness confines his revenge to a lower level of private vendetta.

Delay to the revenge

Olivier's 1948 film, albeit over-simplifying the play, begins with the voice-over: "This is the tragedy of a man who could not make up his mind." In *Shakespearean Tragedy*, A. C. Bradley accentuates the "inward struggle" of the avenger-hero:

> The notion of tragedy as a conflict emphasizes the fact that action is the centre of the story, while the concentration of interest, in the greater plays, on the inward struggle emphasizes the fact that this action is essentially the expression of character.
>
> (Bradley 1904: 35)

Hamlet highlights a conflict between the demands put on the Danish prince as the agent in a revenge tragedy and his apparent unwillingness to fulfill that role. The narrative of the play, according to Bradley, contrives to produce a character who is unequal to the demands laid on him during the course of the plot, rather than a character who would always be unequal to any risk (1902: 19, 108–09). In other words, the poignancy of the tragedy is to a large extent dependent upon Hamlet's ordeals and sufferings. Hamlet's inaction is important, not only in terms of plot development but also in characterisation and theme.

Branching out from the main action of the prince's revenge are many complications: for instance, whether Hamlet's mother, Gertrude, is complicit and shares in Claudius's guilt; whether Hamlet continues to love Ophelia even as he rejects her; whether Ophelia's death is a suicide or an accident; whether the Ghost offers reliable knowledge, or seeks to deceive and tempt Hamlet; and, most importantly, whether Hamlet is morally justified in taking revenge on his uncle.[8] Without these uncertainties, the play would be simplistic, straightforward and uninteresting. In the following paragraphs we will explore what Richard Ho in his adaptation took away from the plot, from Hamlet as a character, and from the audience's knowledge and perception of the revenge.

1. Who is the Ghost?

The revenge is initiated by the Ghost, who is the one who saddles Hamlet with the problem. The question of the legitimacy of the revenge hangs on the Ghost's identity and the truthfulness of his words. Is the Ghost really Hamlet's father or an evil demon tempting him toward destruction? Does the Ghost have reliable knowledge

about its own death, or is the Ghost himself deluded? The Ghost's demand is the turning point that sets the plot in motion and leads Hamlet to the idea of feigning madness, which becomes his primary mode of interacting with other people for the rest of the play, as well as the major device Shakespeare used to develop the complication in his hero's character. Avi Erlich suggests that Hamlet's inaction and other psychological problems stem from a suspicious father, who lets him down and reveals himself as no more than a fantasy:

> [King Hamlet's] ghost is also absent for most of the play, present and yet not present. When the Ghost does appear, he commands with the power of the resurrected, yet supplicates with the impotence of the murdered. Imposing and imposed upon, terrifying yet pitiable, he is an ambiguous figure who both comes to renew his son's sense of purpose and, ultimately, to crush him. Prince Hamlet inherits his father's name as well as his double nature of strength and weakness.
>
> (Erlich 1977: 51)

Hamlet "wants his father back, wants a strong man with whom to identify" (Erlich 1977: 260), and this father figure can offer assurance that his revenge is necessary and justified. Yet throughout a good part of the play Hamlet's quest is futile. It is not until the staging of the play-within-a-play that he finally believes in the Ghost ("I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound." III.ii.280–81). His inability to confirm the identity of the Ghost is what leads to his initial hesitation in deciding whether or not to kill Claudius: if the Ghost is not his father, the King, and if what he says is not true, the legitimacy of the revenge will be at once questionable.

In Ho's *Vengeance*, Liu Huan, the Chinese Hamlet, appears only too ready to affirm that the Ghost is his father Liu Hongdu:

> 桓： （暗驚，踏前）你究竟是誰？姑勿論你是神仙還是鬼怪以及來意好壞，你既然酷似先帝，我希望你能和我交談。如果你是先帝，就請你告知臣兒爲何你英魂不息，夤夜顯靈，莫非父皇有極重要之事訓誨臣兒？

(Ho 1979: 21; I.iv)

[HUAN: (*secretly frightened, stepping forward*) Who are you? Whether you are an angel or a demon and whether your intentions are good or bad, as long as you look like my father the King, I hope you would talk to me. If you are the deceased King, please tell me, your son, why your gallant spirit remains restless and appears in the night. Would my father the King have very important things to inform your son?]

Starting the question with a neutral "Who are you?" Liu Huan apparently harbours less animosity towards the Ghost than the Hamlet of the original play. In the stage direction added by Richard Ho, Liu Huan takes a step forward despite being slightly frightened. Instead of the more domineering "I will speak to thee" (I.iv.44), Liu Huan politely requests the Ghost to talk to him. By the third sentence he is already convinced that the Ghost is the deceased king and calls himself his son. In this shortened inquiry, Ho skips the issues of the Ghost's curious return to the human world, and changes the austere, interrogative tone of the original play to one that is more respectful. In contrast to the gruesome pictures that Hamlet paints of spirits and the nether world (I.iv.44–54), Liu Huan addresses the Ghost as the "gallant spirit" (英魂 *yingyun*) who cannot rest in peace, and courteously asks if his father the King has any commands for him. He also immediately believes the Ghost's murder account:

桓： （奔上狂呼）父皇！父皇——我不會忘記你，我一定記着你的話。哼！那個人面獸心的奸賊，口蜜腹劍，笑裏藏刀。我一定要報仇！

(Ho 1979: 22, I.v)

[HUAN: (*Runs forward and shouts in frenzy*) Father King! Father King!—I will not forget you. I will remember what you said. Huh! That human-faced-beast-hearted wretch. His talk is sugar-coated poison, and his smiles hide daggers. I must take revenge!]

Although the Ghost claims to be the spirit of Hamlet's father, Hamlet refrains from

addressing him as such, despite the fervour of his long reply (I.v.91–112). Liu Huan, on the other hand, bolting forward and bawling, passionately calls the Ghost "Father King" 父皇 (*fuhuang*) twice. Lawrence Wong claims that Ho's changes are in line with traditional Chinese beliefs about the afterlife. According to Wong, the Chinese believe that the dead will return to the human world, and that it is the son's duty to avenge the father's wrongful death. Thus it is normal for Liu Huan readily to accept the Ghost to be his father, without suspecting that the spirit may be a demon. He also acts out of filial piety (Wong 1992: 202–203). Wong's argument is questionable in three respects. First, the desire to avenge one's father's death is universal; it is not exclusively Chinese. Second, while Wong may be right that filial piety may have aroused Liu Huan's feelings for the Ghost, the sense of duty should not have prevented him from being suspicious. Third, Wong fails to explain adequately why Liu Huan would still arrange a dumb show that mocks the alleged murder of Liu Huandu to test if Liu Huanxi is the culprit—if Liu Huan believes in the Ghost, he would not have to go to all the trouble of arranging a play.

In Richard Ho's heavily trimmed adaptation, the prince's deliberations were not given adequate elaboration, and the Hong Kong audience could see less of how the hero questions the appearances of things around him and worries about whether he can trust his perception. The depth of Hamlet's uncertainty and the intricacy of his actions are disposed of in one stroke of Ho's pen.

2. How would God judge?

Hamlet's delay is caused by a confrontation between two ethical or moral demands—the demand to obey your father and the demand that you do not commit

murder (Belsey 2001: 172–73). In Act III Scene 3, Claudius is praying. Hamlet comes upon the kneeling Claudius and realises that he has an opportunity to kill his devious uncle. Yet he remains puzzled, undecided and sceptical, and he dallies until the opportunity is lost. He refuses to kill the King when he is at his prayers. In truth he is only making up an excuse for his own lack of resolution. He decides to defer his revenge until a more suitable time, when Claudius is engaged in some act "that has no relish of salvation in it":

HAMLET: Now might I do it pat, now he is a-praying,
And now I'll do't. And so a goes to heaven;
And so am I reveng'd, that would be scann'd;
A villain kills my father, and for that,
I, his sole son, do this same villain send
To heaven
Why, this is hire and salary, not revenge.
[…]
Up sword, and know thou a more horrid hent,
When he is drunk asleep, or in his rage…

(III.iii.73–79; 88–89)

Hamlet is a story written in Christian England and the Danish prince is also a Christian (Knight 1949: 38–39). To kill a man at prayer would be considered, as Vickers says, "something so very bloody in it, so inhuman, so unworthy of a hero":

> To desire to destroy a man's soul, to make him eternally miserable by cutting him off from all hopes of repentance; this surely, in a Christian prince, is such a piece of revenge as no tenderness for any parent can justify. To put the usurper to death, to deprive him of the fruits of his vile crime, and to rescue the throne of Denmark from pollution, was highly requisite. But there our young Prince's desire should have stopped, nor should he have wished to pursue the criminal in the other world, but rather have hoped for his conversion before his putting him to death; for even with his repentance there was at least purgatory for him to pass through, as we find even in a virtuous Prince, the father of Hamlet.

(Vickers 1979 III: 58)

Hamlet is thus caught up in the immediate intensity of filial propriety and Christian values. While it is a son's duty to obey his father ("If thou didst ever thy dear father love …" [I.v.23]), he must remember that there is divine justice, and he should not be charged with "bestial oblivion" (I.v.39). If fratricide is "foul and most unnatural murder" (I.v.25), one may wonder what kind of a father would risk his son's immortal soul by demanding acts of violence as proof of love. This partly explains Hamlet's anxiety about the identity of the spectral father, who demands an action which might incur his son's damnation.

In the prayer scene Hamlet is, more than anything else, anxious to see Claudius punished, not by himself but by God, the universal father figure.

> Just as Hamlet wants to see God the father as the crucial punisher, he also would like his own father to be able to punish, and he implies that his father has abdicated this responsibility by hiring and salarying his son. …
>
> By deferring the killing of Claudius, Hamlet can fantasize a situation in which the crucial punisher, God the Father, can be counted on; now is not a good time because God would be handcuffed by His own rules and, according to Hamlet's tortured theology, He would have to pardon Claudius. Hamlet needs a God and a father who is not so tolerant of incestuous criminals.
>
> (Erlich 1977: 28–31)

Hamlet does not act in the prayer scene because he unconsciously wants his father to act. He desperately needs a strong father who, like the putative God, will condemn Claudius to hell. His profession of belief in a divinity that shapes our ends can be seen as a convenient sublimation for someone in desperate need of a strong father. In *Vengeance* Liu Hongxi (Claudius) makes his confessions in the inner imperial court. He prays not to ask for mercy from the gods but to request that "Heaven" (蒼天 *cangtian*) would "turn misfortune into fortune" ("轉禍爲福" *zhuan huo wei fu*), so that he could have "peace of mind" ("心安理得" *xin an li de*) (Ho 1979: 37, II.vi). Liu Huan's

deliberation is considerably shortened and his reason for non-action has changed:

桓： （見帝跪禱，拔劍欲弒。猶豫良久）如果我現在殺他，讓他在心安理得的時候死，那未免太便宜他了。（回劍入鞘）我要等他最留戀人世間歡愉的時候，才置他於死地。（下）

(Ho 1979: 37, II.vi)

[HUAN: (*Upon seeing that the King is kneeling and praying, Huan pulls out his sword and prepares to stab him, but he hesitates for a long while*) If I kill him now, he will die in peace. That would be too easy on him. (*Putting the sword back*) I have to wait until the moment when he cherishes the joys of being alive the most; then I will put him to death. (*exit*)]

Liu Huan foregoes the opportunity to kill his uncle not for religious reasons, but to maximise the villain's suffering—the villain should not die when he is praying and feeling restful, but when he is craving life the most. Ho missed the point behind Hamlet's hesitation to kill Claudius. He substituted a very weak and limp excuse—Liu Huan wants to kill Liu Hongdu at a moment when the latter particularly does not want to die. The layers of moral considerations in Hamlet's revenge are thereby considerably reduced. Liu Huan's relationship with his father also becomes superficial and unidirectional—the prince hastens to confirm the identity of the Ghost too readily. He never genuinely questions the ethical aspect of the revenge task the Ghost has imposed upon him.

3. What would other princes do?

One may wonder why Hamlet takes the circuitous route to retaliation. In fact, Shakespeare does suggest alternative and more direct ways for Hamlet to avenge himself. Complementing Hamlet as revenge hero, Shakespeare presents the audience with two princely figures with radically different temperaments who find themselves

in similar situations: Young Fortinbras, the Prince of Norway, and Laertes, son of the Lord Chamberlain, Polonius. In *Vengeance*, Young Fortinbras is omitted, as are the scenes involving him (namely, Act I Scene 2 and Act IV Scene 4). Laertes is kept as the only noble counterpart to Hamlet, but his presence is greatly reduced.

Like Hamlet, Fortinbras is the grieving son of a dead king, a prince whose uncle inherited the throne in his place. But where Hamlet sinks into despair and indecision, Fortinbras devotes himself to the pursuit of revenge. Of the two princes, Hamlet represents the "thinking prince", a student at Wittenberg University who constantly wavers in his duty as a son and as a prince. Fortinbras is the "action prince", a man-at-arms who seems to be faithfully following in the footsteps of his warrior father. His aim in life is clear: "to recover … by strong hand/ And terms compulsatory those …lands/ So by his father lost" (I.i.102–4). In Act IV Scene 4 Hamlet's encounter with the Norwegian captain reminds him of Fortinbras's presence in the world of the play, which gives Hamlet an example of the will to action that he lacks. Hamlet is awestruck by the willingness of Fortinbras to devote an entire army, probably wasting hundreds of lives and risking his own, to reclaim a worthless scrap of land in Poland. He is also concerned about the moral ambiguity of Fortinbras's action, but more than anything else, he is impressed by the forcefulness of it, and that forcefulness becomes a kind of ideal towards which Hamlet decides at last to strive. In *Vengeance*, Young Fortinbras was omitted, and Hamlet's final soliloquy was also slashed. The audience was thus deprived of the comparison between Hamlet and Fortinbras.

Laertes is another example of an uncomplicated revenge hero, who brushes aside almost all the moral objections that have prevented Hamlet from playing the role. Laertes resembles the Young Fortinbras described by Horatio; he too is "of

unimproved mettle hot and full" (I.i.96). He lacks not only the Prince's Wittenberg education but also the mental equipment which, as Hamlet argues in his third soliloquy, distinguishes a man from a beast. Laertes' speeches in Act IV Scene 5 give us, in the starkest possible terms, the code and the creed of the revenge hero. For Laertes, no thought is required to arrive at this position. The sequence (IV.v.117–36) is a deliberate, point-by-point recapitulation of the stages of Hamlet's deliberations for the last four Acts, pruned of doubts, hesitation and qualification. Laertes' rage and blood lust, evidence of his steely determination to defy the sovereign King, his moral conscience and his God, seems much dampened, if not completely hidden from the audience in *Vengeance*. Claudius's flattery, in which he extols Laertes' reputation (IV.vii.69ff), hoping to make him amenable to his wicked plan, was also omitted. If in the original play Laertes is more a set of attitudes than a character of flesh and blood, in Ho's adaptation Li Rulong has even lost his attitudes and is rendered as simply an impetuous doer of unplanned actions. Without the need to convince himself, he is thus reduced to a puppet immediately ready to be manipulated by Liu Hongdu.

There is no doubt that Hamlet is a meditative intellectual. As the heir-apparent, it is better for him to err on the side of caution. In *Hamlet*, the Danish prince is compared with Young Fortinbras and Laertes, who show us different reactions to similar circumstances. Before Hamlet himself can decide on action or inaction, the audience is allowed to see what that action would lead to. In *Vengeance*, with the absence of Fortinbras and the reduced presence of Laertes, the audience does not have access to the extra dimensions created by the foil figures and the complexity in Hamlet's character.

How Not to Tell the Story of *Hamlet*

In his famous article entitled "*Hamlet* and His Problem" (1920), T. S. Eliot describes *Hamlet* as the "Mona Lisa" of literature (1920: 99).[9] The comparison with Da Vinci's masterpiece may bring out another aspect of the enigmatic nature of *Hamlet*. There is a popular saying that from whatever angle you look at Mona Lisa, she seems to be smiling at you. Likewise, from whatever position you read *Hamlet*, the Bard seems to be addressing the story to you. Just as different people have their own Mona Lisas, different translators, directors and actors also have their own *Hamlet*s. The indeterminacy and the richly layered signification of the play appear to have freed artists from the straitjacket of absolute fidelity and afforded them the freedom to infuse the play with their own ideas. It has given rise to a plethora of Byzantine interpretations, criticisms and even speculations, ranging from deconstruction, feminism, historicism, Freudian and Jungian analyses, Marxism, genre theory, philosophical approaches, to myth criticism. The text of the play is only the starting point. Every production generates a new Hamlet. It is not simply a matter of casting, acting style, tone of voice, costume, set design and all the "businesses" that directors usually deal with. Given the daunting length of the play, most productions severely cut the script, and where the cuts are made throws what is left into a new relief. Every new *Hamlet* is to be realised with a fresh immediacy. Critics like Francis Barker (1984) and Catherine Belsey (1985a; 2001) see Hamlet as a character who has no "real" identity but whose fractured subjectivity is realised in a series of different performances. L C. Knights goes so far as to suggest that "the play is [a] radical examination of the problem of consciousness, of self-identity", and that, because of this, the line that everyone thinks of in connection with the play—though we quarrel about its meaning—is "To be or not to be, that is the question" (1979: 34).

As discussed in the previous section, the Chinese *Hamlet*s for the most part

concerned themselves with the questions of how to be Chinese and of whether to be or not to be a particular kind of Chinese under specific historical circumstances. The Chinese dramatists were far less interested in telling the Danish prince's story than in telling their own. The preconditions of this self-substitution were a definite knowledge of the Self and a synchronic concern with the times, and—if these two pre-conditions are not immediately obvious—a desire to attempt to express the Self and the time. Yet these three preconditions are lacking in Ho's *Vengeance*. Ho appears to have been satisfied with merely telling the story of the Danish prince in a rudimentary manner. To be fair, one cannot deny that *Vengeance* has a clear plot—the prince's revenge, complete with its cause, process and result, but all in skeleton form. Ho seems to have been preoccupied with relating the basic process of the revenge, while leaving out the intricacies that would have enriched characterisation and generated different, challenging readings. What is more disappointing, at least to this writer, is that Ho's adaptation lacks a definite focus. Judging from the content of the adaptation, one cannot but wonder what Ho wanted to say about Hamlet and his revenge, and how the story was related to the audience. It is like a panoramic soft-focus photograph–it includes the most of everything, but one cannot see anything clearly. The ideological investment of Ho in *Hamlet* is as vague as it is scarce. If the Chinese *Hamlet*s in other parts of Greater China are a kind of Self-representation or Self-substitution, Ho's *Hamlet* is Self-effacement. *Vengeance* may be a Mona Lisa dressed in Chinese costume, but her smile eludes the Hong Kong eyes.

Alignment to a Cultural China

What is more interesting is that Ho reframed Shakespeare's plays in ancient China.

This change, in a broad sense, reaffirmed and redefined what Huang calls "local reading positions", and symbolised a self-conscious repositioning of Hong Kong in relation to both its Chinese origins and British connections. Having said that, Ho's localisation obfuscated rather than clarified the term "local". Questions should be asked about the prevalent claim regarding familiarity—that a sinified story background would endear the Shakespearean stories to the Hong Kong audience—before taking it at face value. If familiarity was what the theatre practitioners were after, why did they not adapt the English stories to present-day Hong Kong? Why, on the translated drama stage, could an ancient China be considered to represent the locality of Hong Kong?

Rey Chow points to a kind of "tactics of intervention" adopted by Hongkongers—"an identification with 'Chinese culture' but a distantiation from the Chinese Communist regime" (1993: 22). In other words, it is an embrace of China but at arm's length. This resonates with Tu Wei-ming's proposition of a "cultural China", as opposed to a geopolitical China. The term "cultural China" describes the emergence of a "common awareness" among Chinese intellectuals throughout the world of a more appropriate or at least more comfortable self-designation: as *Huaren* 華人 (people of Chinese origin) rather than *Zhongguoren* 中國人 (citizens of China). In other words, people can be ethnically and culturally Chinese but of a variety of nationalities. In Tu's words, "*Huaren* is not geopolitically centered, for it indicates common ancestry and a shared cultural background, whereas *Zhongguoren* necessarily evokes obligations and loyalties of political affiliation and the myth of the Central Country" (Tu 1994: 25).

A remote, cultural China emphasises the sharing of roots. It features the Chinese traditions and culture that are politically neutral and have stood the test of time. For

Hongkongers, Chineseness is a means by which they could avoid becoming completely immersed in a Western cultural citizenship. At the same time, they can stay connected to their ethnic origin and to the transnational network consisting of ethnic Chinese in other parts of the world, in order to explore the meaning of being Chinese in a global context. Such an alignment to a cultural China is not unique to *Vengeance*. In fact, it was quite common in Hong Kong cinema from the late 1970s into the 1990s. The negotiation of a Hong Kong identity, especially in relation to the slippery Sino-Hong Kong relationship, remains the top agenda of Hong Kong cinematic discourse. The Chineseness in the Hong Kong identity basket was constantly reviewed, reformed, reweighed and reorganised in the cinema. What is Chineseness in the eyes of Hong Kong film-makers? Desser (2005: 280–1) argues that, in the kungfu films from the 1970s through the early 1990s, Chineseness is a "nationalism of the abstract kind". It is closely aligned with traditional Chinese cultural heritage, for instance, martial arts in *The Big Boss* (唐山大兄 *Tangshan da xiong*, 1971), *The Way of the Dragon* (猛龍過江 *Meng long guo jiang*, 1972), *Fist of Fury* (精武門 *Jingwu men*, 1972), *New Fist of Fury* (新精武門 *Xin jingwu men*, 1976), and *Fist of Legend* (精武英雄 *Jingwu yingxiong*, 1994); as well as Chinese medicine in the *Once upon a Time in China* series (黃飛鴻 *Huang Feixiong*, 1993, 1994, 1997) by Tsui Hark. Stephen Teo (1997: 207) describes this fascination as a "China syndrome", under which the directors of the new wave cinema mooted questions of identity, nationality and ethnicity in their works, and these were sensitive questions never asked before, especially since the commencement of the Sino-British negotiations over the transfer of the sovereignty of Hong Kong in the early 1980s. Feelings of uncertainty about the future are negotiated not only through realistic and historical references but also through the territory's imagined relationship with China. To align Hong Kong with a cultural China, as it was in *Vengeance*, through reframing Chineseness in a Western

story, or reframing a Western story in a sinified setting, is both to acknowledge a Chinese heritage and to create a modern identity as "Hong Kong Chinese" that stands on its own in relation to a political China and many Chinese diasporas in other parts of the world.

Alignment to a Cultural West

Performances of Shakespeare, especially in the former colonies of Britain and France, are prone to be analysed in post-colonial paradigms. Michael Neill observes that Shakespeare's plays were "entangled from the beginning with the projects of nation-building, empire and colonization in many cases" (1998: 68; also quoted in Huang 2009: 26). This issue is two-dimensional. First, Shakespeare is regarded as a cultural icon and has an indelible association with Britain and the broader English-speaking world. Shakespeare is a field and an industry in his own right. Furthermore, as Britain's most famous cultural export, Shakespeare was pressed into the service of British imperialism. As the Empire expanded over the 18th and 19th centuries to include vast regions in Asia, India, the West Indies and Africa, English literature became one of the means by which "English" values were to be spread among subject peoples. Not surprisingly, Shakespeare, whose work came to represent both quintessential Englishness and universal human values, was at the heart of this "civilising" mission. Second, Shakespeare's plays reflect not only the universal themes of love, fear, birth and death, but also the concerns, witting or unwitting, of colonised people. We learn that the British "civilising" mission was successful at times, while at others it was turned on its head, when colonial subjects used Shakespeare to bolster their arguments against colonialism. Almost all of Shakespeare's plays are set in locales or historical periods distant from the England of

his time. There are numerous allusions to commodities that came into England through the expansion of trade, such as peppercorns, silk, saffron and ginger. It is quite clear that Shakespeare was very aware of the economic and political expansion of Elizabethan England and that this awareness had an impact on almost all of his work. Rather than reading his plays as evidence of the superiority of English culture, anti-colonial writers—such as Aime Cesaire, Ania Loomba, Ngugi wa Thiong'O—often quote them in support of their right to freedom and equality. The eponymous black hero (as opposed to a villain) in *Othello* may have inspired strength and sympathy among coloured people, and they also echoed the questions Shylock the Jew asks in *The Merchant of Venice*—"Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same disease, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is?" (III.i.54–59).

Interestingly, Shakespearean performances in Hong Kong were seldom related to anticolonial discourses. They were less concerned with grand nationalist narratives than their counterparts in mainland China. In *Vengeance*, the Danish background of *Hamlet* was replaced not in order to repudiate things Western. Not unlike the alignment to a cultural China discussed above, the West represented in *Hamlet* was considered a neutral, apolitical cultural commodity. Despite the association of Shakespeare with Englishness, Shakespeare was not resisted as an image of colonisation in Hong Kong, and Shakespearean performances were affected very little by political changes. Some contemporary Hong Kong scholars are surprised to find that "local experimentations with Shakespeare in post-modernist and Chinese styles have continued to flourish [in Hong Kong]" (Tam, Parkin and Yip 2002: ix). This continued prominence, they argue, shows that "Shakespeare has

transcended his British heritage and become part of the Hong Kong Chinese tradition" (*ibid*.).

For the Hong Kong audience, the new play setting of *Vengeance*, now switched to the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms epoch, is marginally less remote than Denmark in the Middle Ages. It is, however, difficult to find parallels between the ancient Chinese background and 1970s Hong Kong. Under Ho's principle of "skipping the minor, keeping the major", *Hamlet*'s plot is trimmed to its skeleton and the prince reduced to a rather vapid avenger, yet without any obvious introduction of new ideas or feelings. Ho gives the translated script a double alignment—to a cultural China and to a cultural West, both of which present stereotypical features that are rather abstract and apolitical. The result is a nebulous hybrid; it is neither Chinese nor Western. If sinification is to be regarded as a kind of domestication, then the domesticity represented in *Vengeance* is a blurred vista. It is at best a shadow site with overlapping silhouettes of East and West. Devoid of solid content, the adaptation leaves blanks yet to be filled.

As the first sinified Shakespearean performance in Hong Kong, *Vengeance* set a precedent for translated theatre, attesting that the stage can not only represent either the East or the West, but can also combine both at the same time. The method is to appeal to the neutral aspects of different cultures and to present them as universal features with which Hongkongers would have no difficulty in identifying, and subsequently to organise these traits into a framework for a new, synthetic creation. To adopt things Western in a Chinese way, or vice versa, appears to be a way to acquire multiple cultural memberships, which may later be woven into a network to produce a stronger and clearer sense of identity.

NOTES

1. For details of the ideological appropriation of *Hamlet* in Greater China, see Cao and Sun (1989), Chen (1964), Chau (1981), Li (n.d.), Perng (1996), (1998), (1999), (2000) and (2004), and Tian (1993).

2. Richard Ho studied English literature at the University of Hong Kong and read for his doctorate in Chinese studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Then he went on to teach Chinese literature at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. In the mid-1970s he returned to Hong Kong and taught at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He was also an amateur theatre practitioner and participated in a number of student and professional productions. *Vengeance* appears to be his only drama translation that has been published and staged.

3. *Hamlet: Sword of Vengeance* was the official English translation by Richard Ho. It was used in his published translation (Ho 1988; 1992) and the performance in Stratford-upon-Avon in April 2009. It was indeed rare for theatre translations in Hong Kong to make up an English title other than that of the original. The renaming of the Chinese translation probably signifies a self-proclaimed independence as a text in its own right. Daniel Yang 楊世彭 (Yang Shipeng), Artistic Director of HKREP from 1990 to 2001, referred to this production as *Vengeance of the Prince* in his essay (Yang 2000: 76), and the production title is believed to be Yang's own translation. In this chapter the writer follows Ho's English title and refers to this production as *Vengeance*.

4. Dorothy Wong, in her article "Shakespeare in a Hong Kong Frame", states that "*Hamlet* was staged for the 14th Tsuen Wan Arts Festival from 5–6 January 1993. The performance was based on Richard Ho's adaptation of *Hamlet*" (2000: 70). However, this writer has discovered that the said performance did not use Ho's version. It was instead based on the adaptation by Chen Lifun 陳麗芬 and Chen Huosuo 陳活碩, and it was entitled *Chou*《讎》 [Revenge]. The performance was directed by Chen Qiyuan 陳啓源 and staged in the Recital Hall of Tsuen Wan Town Hall.

5. Simon Chau used to be a professor in the Department of Translation at the Hong Kong Baptist University. He is author of the book *A Critical Study of the Chinese Translations of* Hamlet漢譯《哈姆雷特》研究 (*Han yi* Hamuleite *yanjiu*; 1981). He was one of the critics who severely condemned *Vengeance*. He writes that:

> If someone tells you that he wants to translate and stage *Hamlet*, you can be sure that he is conceited and irremediably confident.
>
> Or he is deplorably ignorant.
>
> He doesn't know that Hamlet is the Mona Lisa in literary history. Hamlet is the most discussed fictional character in history.

(Chau 1979)

Ho and Chau engaged in a bitter war of words concerning the above remark. Chau's critique and Ho's rebuttal thereof are both included in Ho's printed version of *Vengeance* in 1992 (for details, see Ho 1992). In addition to the sensational wording, Chau's argument is questionable and at times self-contradictory. Chau asserts from the outset that translating *Hamlet* stands a slim chance of success, yet staging *Hamlet* is doomed to failure. The problem is that there never exists a standard, original Shakespearean performance (Chau 1979), and it is impossible to be faithful to a nonexistent, archaic, foreign ideal and to please the modern local audience at the same time (Chau 1979; see also Chau 1978b, esp. pp. 242, 246–48). Chau believes that drama is the product of a particular age and culture, as well as being part of the way of life of a particular society. In another article about Shakespeare translation he offers a relevant suggestion that "the drama translator does not merely experiment with language, he may have to change the stage tradition and re-orientate the prospective play troupe as well as the audience", although he warns that this "can turn out to be far more prohibitive than translating prose or fiction" (Chau 1978b: 246). According to this line of argument Chau might be expected to favour Ho's sinification approach to staging *Hamlet*. However, he criticises *Vengeance* mainly for its diversion from the original Shakespearean text, especially for the omission and abbreviation of certain famous dialogues, as well as the deletion of foil characters such as Rosencrantz and Guildenstern (see Chau 1979). If Ho confesses that word-to-word fidelity to the original *Hamlet* is not at all his goal, and Chau also admits that changes from the original text are inevitable in drama translation, Chau's criticism of "unfaithfulness" is somewhat inappropriate.

6. Early historicist criticisms developed a particular fascination with the connections between text and history, as well as with the fictions of power. For example, Leonard Tennenhouse, in his book, *Power on Display: The Politics of Shakespeare's Genre* (1986), discusses Hamlet with the Elizabethan chronicle plays (i.e., the Henriad, which includes *Richard II, Henry IV* parts one and two and *Henry V*), rather than with the later Jacobean tragedies with which it is more ordinarily grouped. Tennenhouse does this in the belief that "*Hamlet* marks the moment when the Elizabethan strategies for authorizing monarchy became problematic" (85). The rivalry for the throne between Claudius and Hamlet represents in a relatively straightforward and formulaic way the options for monarchical power available in late Elizabethan/early Jacobean England (see 86–87).

7. *Wuxia* is a broad genre of Chinese fiction concerning the adventures of martial artists. The word *wuxia* is a compound word composed of the characters *wu* 武, which means "martial", "military" or "armed" and *xia* 俠, meaning "honourable", "chivalrous" or

"hero". *Wuxia* is also a component of popular culture for many Chinese-speaking communities worldwide, for instance, of films, television drama, Chinese opera and even video games.

8. Wetmore compares the treatment of revenge in the West and in *kabuki* (2008: 13). He observes that Japan almost exclusively features delays due to external factors—the legitimacy of revenge is never in question, as it is in *Hamlet*. In *kabuki* the delay is also emotionally satisfying to the audience, as it highlights "the ability to endure suffering in the service of one's clan" (Brandon and Leiter 2002: 19).

9. Jacqueline Rose took Eliot up on this statement, that *Hamlet* is the "Mona Lisa" of literature, to reveal the anti-feminist bias in Eliot's aesthetics (1986). Her chief concern is the burden that Gertrude is expected to bear in Eliot's account of the play's artistic weakness. See Rose (1986). This section is not concerned with Rose's article other than its use of the title of Eliot's article.

General		
Play title	王子復仇記 (*Hamlet: Sword of Vengeanc*e	哈姆雷特 (*Hamuleite*)
Performance year	1977, 2007	2005
Production company	1977: Hong Kong Repertory Theatre 2007: Greater China Culture Global Association 大中華全球文化協會	Hong Kong Academy of Performing Art
Setting		
Period: 13th century, or the Dark Ages	南漢 Southern Han (917–971)	13th century
Venue: Elsinore, capital of Denmark	南漢興王府 The Mansion of Prince Xing	丹麥首都艾爾西諾 Ai'erxinuo
Norway	吳越 Wu Yue	挪威 Nuowei
France	楚國 Chu	法國 Faguo
Wittenberg	唐國/循州 Tangguo / Xunzhou	維根斯堡 Weigensibao
Leading characters		
Hamlet	劉桓 Liu Huan; 秦王 Qin Wang	哈姆雷特 Hamuleite
King Hamlet	劉弘杜 Liu Hongdu; 先帝 Xiandi	先王 Xianwang (lit. trans.: my deceased father, the King)
Claudius	劉弘希 Liu Hongxi	克勞思 Kelusi
Gertrude	馬氏 Mashi	葛露德 Gelude
Polonius	李博 Li Bo	波洛司 Boluosi
Ophelia	李如菲 Li Rufei	奧菲莉亞 Aofeiliya
Laertes	李如龍 Li Rulong	雷蒂斯 Leitisi
Horatio	賀素 He Su	何拉素 Helasu
Fortinbras	omitted	浮天白 Foutianbai
Cornelius	梁定遠 Liang Dingyuan	康尼律 Kangnilü
Voltimand	omitted	魯慎格 Lushenge
Rosencrantz	omitted	紀爾登 Ji'erdeng
Osric	omitted	俄思力 Esilli
Marcellus	馬威 Ma Wei	馬西勒 Maxile
Bernardo	莫驥 Mo Ji	貝納都 Beinadu
Reynaldo	omitted	利納多 Li'erduo
Francisco	omitted	omitted
King of England	李璟 Li Jing	英格蘭國王 Yinggelan guowang (lit. trans.: King of England)

Table 4.1 Adaptation details of Richard Ho and Rupert Chan's translations of *Hamlet*

Major Actions of Shakespeare's original play	Richard Ho's version	
	Keep or omit	Remarks
ACT 1 SCENE 1	**1.1 五夜亡魂** [Dead soul in the fifth night]	
▪ Bernado, Horatio and Marcellus take over the watch from Francisco.	✓	Three soldiers are reduced to two.
▪ Bernardo and Marcellus tell Horatio about the Ghost that has been seen.	✓	
▪ The Ghost appears; it resembles the late King Hamlet.	✓	
▪ The Ghost reappears and Horatio questions it.	✓	
▪ The men decide to tell Prince Hamlet what they have seen.	✓	
ACT 1 SCENE 2	**1.2 牆茨中葬** [Palace orgy]	
▪ The new King addresses the court.	✓	
▪ Hamlet is disgusted by the new King (his uncle) and the Queen (his mother).	✓	
▪ The watchmen tell Hamlet about the Ghost.	✓	
▪ In his first soliloquy, Hamlet discloses his inner turmoil, expressing admiration for his father's gallantry and disgust at the incestuous union of his uncle and his mother.	✓	The soliloquy is severely shortened.
ACT 1 SCENE 3	**1.3 臨別贈言** [Farewell advice]	
▪ Laertes warns Ophelia about Hamlet and her own sexuality.	✓	
▪ Polonius gives his departing son advice on how to conduct himself.	✓	
▪ Polonius orders Ophelia to reject Hamlet unless he offers more.	✓	
ACT 1 SCENE 4	**1.4 夜探城樓** [Visit to the gun platform at night]	
▪ Hamlet joins the watch with Horatio and Marcellus.	✓	

ACT 1 SCENE 5	1.5 先帝沉冤 [Wrongful death of the former king]	
▪ The Ghost appears and signals to Hamlet to follow him.	✓	
▪ The Ghost tells Hamlet that he is the spirit of his father, and orders revenge on his murderer, Claudius.	✓	
▪ Hamlet accepts his instruction and vows his friends to secrecy.	✓	
ACT 2 SCENE 1	**2.1 積念成狂** [Lovelorn madness]	
▪ Polonius sends Reynaldo to spy on his son.	×	Reynaldo is omitted.
▪ Ophelia reports Hamlet's strange appearance and behaviour to Polonius	✓	
ACT 2 SCENE 2	**2.2 昔日題詩** [Love poems from the past]	
▪ Rosencrantz and Guildenstern arrive to spy on Hamlet.	×	Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are omitted.
▪ The King allows Fortinbras to march his forces across Denmark.	×	Fortinbras is omitted.
▪ Following Polonius's advice, the King plans a meeting between Hamlet and Ophelia on which he and Polonius will eavesdrop.	✓	
▪ Hamlet taunts Polonius.	×	Hamlet does not appear in this scene.
▪ Hamlet forces Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to confess why they were sent for.	×	
	2.3 太師獻伶 [Performance recommended by the councilor]	
▪ The First Player delivers the Hecuba speech.	×	The performance is implied in Hamlet's speech instead of recited.
▪ In his second soliloquy, Hamlet berates himself and anticipates *The Mousetrap*.	✓	The 2nd soliloquy is broken down into several shorter speeches.
ACT 3 SCENE 1	**2.4 指桑罵槐** [Oblique accusations]	
▪ Hamlet's "crafty madness" is discussed.	✓	

▪ Claudius reveals his guilt.	×	
▪ Hamlet delivers his third soliloquy: "To be or not to be …"	✓	
▪ Claudius and Polonius eavesdrop on Ophelia and Hamlet's conversation which breaks up in bitterness.	✓	
▪ Ophelia expresses her despair.	×	
▪ Claudius resolves to deal with Hamlet by sending him to England.	×	
ACT 3 SCENE 2	**2.5 御前優孟** [Performance in front of the king]	
▪ Hamlet makes preparations for the play, with which he will test the truth of the Ghost's story.	×	The preparation is implied in the brief dialogue between Hamlet and Horatio.
▪ The play is performed in two parts; Hamlet and Horatio observe the King's reaction to it.	✓	The two parts are combined into one and performed in mime.
▪ During the interval between the parts, Claudius asks for the name of the play.	×	Claudius halts the performance in a sudden rage.
▪ When Hamlet asks Gertrude's opinion of the play, she rebuffs him and says: "The lady doth protest too much, methinks."	×	
▪ Hamlet is summoned to the Queen's room.	✓	
ACT 3 SCENE 3	**2.6 進退兩難** [Caught in a dilemma]	
▪ The King attempts to pray for forgiveness.	✓	
▪ Hamlet has Claudius at his mercy but cannot kill the King at prayer.	✓	
ACT 3 SCENE 4	**2.7 劉桓罪母** [Lau Wun chastises his mother]	
▪ Polonius prepares to eavesdrop on Gertrude and Hamlet's conversation.	✓	
▪ Hamlet kills Polonius believing him to be the King.	✓	
▪ Hamlet chastises his mother.	✓	
▪ The Ghost intervenes and whets Hamlet's "almost blunted purpose."	✓	
▪ Gertrude gives a graphic description of Hamlet's terror.	×	
▪ Gertrude promises not to reveal Hamlet's	✓	

plans.		
ACT 4 SCENE 1	[Whole scene deleted.]	
▪ Gertrude informs Claudius of Polonius's murder.	×	
▪ Claudius decides that Hamlet should be sent away to England.	×	Hamlet says his departure to England will be expedited in his last speech in the Act 2 Scene 7.
ACT 4 SCENE 2	[Whole scene deleted.]	
▪ Rosencrantz and Guildenstern discover Hamlet has hidden Polonius's body.	×	
ACT 4 SCENE 3	**3.1 奉節南唐** [Mission trip to Southern Tang]	
▪ Claudius confronts Hamlet.	✓	
▪ Once alone, Claudius reveals his plans to kill the Prince.	×	
ACT 4 SCENE 4	[Whole scene deleted.]	
▪ Hamlet meets Fortinbras's army.	×	
▪ Hamlet delivers his final soliloquy.	×	
ACT 4 SCENE 5	**3.2 大將回師** [Return of the general]	
▪ Laertes has returned from France and threatens rebellion.	✓	
▪ Ophelia has lost her wits.	✓	
▪ She sings madly of love and death.	×	
▪ Claudius explains his murder plot to the gullible Laertes.	✓	
ACT 4 SCENE 6	**3.3 故人音信** [Letter from a long-lost friend]	
▪ Horatio learns that pirates have captured Hamlet, and rescued him from Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.	✓	Hamlet has escaped the attacks of bandits instead of pirates and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern; his short note is read aloud by Horatio.
▪ Hamlet is now back in Denmark.	✓	
ACT 4 SCENE 7	**3.4 蕭牆定計** [Universal Light Monastery]	
▪ Claudius and Laertes plot Hamlet's death.	✓	
▪ In a letter, Hamlet informs Claudius of his return.	✓	
▪ Gertrude describes, in a lengthy beautiful	✓	Gertrude briefly divulges

verse, Ophelia's death by drowning.		Ophelia's death.
ACT 5 SCENE 1	**3.5 普光古寺** [Universal Light Monastery]	
▪ Two Gravediggers discuss Ophelia's suicide.	×	Two Gravediggers are omitted.
▪ Hamlet and Horatio contemplate the mutability of all things.	×	Horatio does not speak until Hamlet's dying moments.
▪ Ophelia's cortège arrives; Laertes' display of grief for Ophelia enrages Hamlet and the two men fight by her graveside.	✓	
ACT 5 SCENE 2	**3.6 太子歸天** [The prince's ascent to heaven]	
▪ Whilst at sea, Hamlet sentenced Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to death.	×	
▪ The King arranges a fencing match between Hamlet and Laertes.	✓	The King starts the match at the beginning of the scene.
▪ Osric, a courtier, informs Hamlet of the wager	×	Osric is omitted.
▪ During the bout, Laertes scratches Hamlet with a poisoned sword and is in turn fatally wounded by it.	✓	
▪ Gertrude drinks from a poisoned cup, prepared by the King for Hamlet.	✓	
▪ The dying Queen and Laertes accuse Claudius.	✓	
▪ Hamlet, knowing he is dying, takes his revenge and kills the King.	✓	
▪ Hamlet begs Horatio to tell his story "aright."	✓	
▪ Hamlet nominates Fortinbras as his successor.	×	
▪ Young Fortinbras orders a soldier's funeral for Hamlet and assumes power in Denmark.	×	

Table 4.2 Major actions in *Hamlet* and *Hamlet: Sword of Vengeance*

Chapter 5

HONG KONG PEOPLE SPEAK*

Rupert Chan and *Twelfth Night*

Much the most important thing about language is
its capacity for generating imagined communities,
building in effect particular solidarities.

BENEDICT ANDERSON, *Imagined Communities* (1991)

Rupert Chan: Hong Kong Speaks through Translation

In 1991, Rupert Chan 陳鈞潤 (Chen Junyun) wrote a book entitled 港人自講 (*Gangren zi jiang*). In it he discusses various aspects of the Cantonese spoken in Hong Kong, for which he coins the term 香港話 (*Xianggang hua* [Hongkong-speak]), as opposed to the Cantonese (廣府話 *Guangfu hua*) which originated and is spoken in Guangzhou 廣州, China. The book is an anthology of various loosely thrown together newspaper columns. Throughout its 30-some short chapters, the book conveys a sense of pride in the humour, receptiveness, flexibility and creativity of Hongkong-speak. The book title, very close to a self-assertion and self-proclamation, suggests the cultural identity of people in the territory. Firstly, it is an interesting and witty pun. It can be translated as "Hong Kong people speak *to* themselves" or "Hong

* All quotations from *Twelfth Night* come from *Twelfth Night (The Arden Shakespeare)*, 2nd. ed., ed. J. M. Lothian and T. W. Craik (London: Methuen, 1975). All quotations from Rupert Chan's *Lantern Festival* come from a photocopy of the 1986 handwritten performance script (unpublished). This writer owes her gratitude to Mr. Chan for providing the script. All back translations from Chinese to English are done by this writer, unless otherwise stated.

Kong people speak *for* themselves". The title affirms the distinct entity of the people and their language. It also suggests a shared membership based on the language spoken by the people in the territory. In other words, Hongkong-speak is the language by which Hong Kong people communicate among themselves, as much as it is the language they use to communicate themselves to the rest of the world. Secondly, in Cantonese 港人自講 is a homophone of 港人治港 (*Gangren zhi gang* [Hong Kong people govern Hong Kong]. In Cantonese, both phrases are pronounced *gong*^{2}*-yan*^{4} *ji*^{6} *gong*^{2}). The latter was the basis of the constitution of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region imposed by Beijing. Through this title, Chan attempts to relate the autonomy of Hongkong-speak to the autonomy of the territory. Chan's writing may be tongue-in-cheek, and it is intended to achieve rhetorical rather than political effect, yet his association makes sense from a linguistic point of view. Language is tied up with identity, especially in the case of Hong Kong (Scollon 1998: 277), in that individual speakers express their choice of identity by their choice of language and by the degree to which they focus their speech on a given variety (Pennington 1998: 9). Through such "acts of identification"—or what Le Page and Taouret-Keller (1995) term an "act of identity"—speakers signal their degree of affiliation with one sociocultural group or another, or they create new identities and affiliations which blend the attributes of existing groups.

At the same time, Chan believes that Hongkong-speak is characteristic of the common mentality of the Hong Kong people. In his book, Chan describes Hongkong-speak as: "the hodge-podge mixing the East, the West, the South, and the North, and the Middle (as in the game of mahjong), which is the richest of the richest and the trickiest of the trickiest" (Chan 1991: 155). Thanks to its power of amalgamation and conversion, foreign or Chinese words will become uniquely

"Hong Kong" when they fall into the hands of Hongkongers (142). He compares Hongkong-speak to Hong Kong-style fusion cuisine, which is inspired by something foreign but which does not exist in the original source. The various different features of Hongkong-speak also express in different ways the character of the Hong Kong people. The most salient feature of the language is its transformation capability. Hongkong-speak tends to borrow widely from other languages and then coin new expressions that combine the morphology of both languages. Cantonese transliterations from English become commonly used phrases.[1] This is evidence of the acculturation ability of Hongkong-speak and of the Hong Kong people—both to acculturate themselves to the foreign and to acculturate the foreign to their own culture. Chan also points out that the names of colonial governors were translated into traditional Chinese names that could be mistaken for local Chinese names, such as 羅富國 (Luo Fuguo [Geoffrey Northcote]), 葛量洪 (Ge Lianghong [Alexander Graham]), 戴麟趾 (Dai Linzhi [David Trench]), 麥理浩 (Mai Lihao [Murray MacLehose]) and 彭定康 (Peng Dingkang [Chris Patten]).[2] Citing numerous examples, Chan concludes that Hongkong-speak is basically a kind of code-mixing "translationese", wherein translation is an important tactic of syntax construction. Even mistranslations and mispronunciations of foreign terms, be they conscious or unconscious, reflect to a large extent the values and lifestyle of contemporary Hong Kong.[3] Purity is an anomaly in the case of Hongkong-speak. Multilingualism and multiculturalism, as reflected in the language, are necessary conditions in the territory (see Chan 1991: 98–99, 117–19, 147–49).[4] Written in 1991, the book also hints at Chan's nostalgia for old language use and the folk art performances given in Canton at that time, and the cultural diversity chiefly brought about by the soon-to-be-gone British colonisation.

Translating for Hong Kong

The book *Hong Kong People Speak* reflects not only Chan's take on the local language and identity, but also sheds light on his theatre translation strategy. This chapter will examine the theatre translations of Rupert Chan, with special attention being paid to his *Lantern Festival* 元宵 (*Yuanxiao*, 1986), which was the first Cantonese translation of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. Having read English and comparative literature at the University of Hong Kong, Chan is a staunch supporter of translated theatre, as indicated in the title of his article "Translating Drama for the Hong Kong Audience" 爲香港觀眾翻譯戲劇 (*Wei Xianggang guanzhong fanyi xiju*; Chan 1992a). He is the linchpin of "domesticated" theatre translation in Hong Kong. Over a span of 25 years, he has translated 40 plays into Cantonese for the Hong Kong stage (see Tables 6.1a–c), among them five were musicals (*Cabaret*, *Pygmalion*, *The Little Shop of Horrors*, *Man of La Mancha* and Disney's *Aladdin*), for which he wrote the lyrics in Cantonese. He has translated over 30 opera libretti for Chinese surtitle projections, and in 1989 he also translated Britten's Old English libretto of the opera *Noyes Fludde* for the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts. He also produced the English subtitles for the film version of the Cantonese opera *The Legend of the Purple Hairpin* 紫釵記 (*Zichai ji*) for the Television Broadcasting Corporation. At the 18th Hong Kong Drama Awards in 1990, Chan received the Translator Laureate and Lyricist Laureate awards from the Hong Kong Federation of Drama.

Rupert Chan believes that for any great literary work to win worldwide acclaim and readership, it should be circulated not only in its original language but also through translations into different languages (Chan 1992a: 210). For him, there is no pretence at self-effacement, unlike most academic translators. On the contrary, Chan highlights his Hong Kong identity in his translation works. His central idea is to

emphasise the local by emphasising the local language, which epitomises the impure origins, the agility, diversity, receptiveness and creativity of the so-called Hong Kong identity.

Rupert Chan may not be the first or the only dramatist to give a Hong Kong linguistic flavour to foreign drama, yet he, together with Bernard Goss, the third Artistic Director (1984–1988) of the Chung Ying Theatre Company, brought localised translated theatre into the limelight. In 1986, with the adaptations of *Twelfth Night* and *Hobson's Choice* respectively, they bucked the trend of faithfulness to the original and started the move towards localisation and colloquialism. Foreign drama adapted to Hong Kong contexts sprang into life. Goss repudiated the notion that translation should be a diligent imitation of the original:

> Let us not forget that even today's British audience cannot understand everything in Shakespeare's plays. In Hong Kong, a good translation, or to be precise, an adaptation, could enable the play to pass down to future generations. With renewed connections with the audience, the plays could be appreciated through a total theatrical experience. Many critics say that translation is only second-class, which fails to grasp the spirit of the original. If you follow my way of thinking, you will see that the Shakespearean plays, when translated into foreign languages nowadays, indeed serve a greater communicative function than the original English scripts.
>
> (Bernard Goss's words; my translation. Quoted in Chan 1992a: 215)

Goss and Chan are target-oriented, unlike Chung King-fai, The Seals Players and Theatre Space, who were source-oriented (see Chapter 3). If Chung's goal was to recreate the "reality" of foreign plays, Goss and Chan could be considered as attempting to re-imagine reality through the vision of the target culture—how would the plot unfold if set in a local context? How would the characters speak in the local tongue and still tell the story of a foreign play?

Hongkong-centricity

Use of Hongkong-speak

Chan explicitly dismisses erudite translations by scholars and embraces a colloquial approach, in which the aim is to enhance audience identification with the story and to ensure accuracy of speech delivery by actors (Rupert Chan 2009). He translates in highly colloquial Hongkong-speak that actors can actually read aloud, claiming unapologetically that he has "deprived the actors of the pleasure of translating the dialogues from written Chinese to spoken Cantonese" (Chan 1992a: 216). For the translated dialogues to make sense, no matter whether tonally, rhythmically, or semantically, they have to be read in Hongkong-speak. The performance aspect of Chan's translated script is extremely important. Unlike many drama translators, who see themselves as accountable to themselves, and/or to the source text, Chan feels responsible to the director, the actors and the audience. He records the exchanges between himself and the actors and the directors during rehearsals, which often lead to revising his translations until they do not sound jarring to the ear (Rupert Chan 2009).

Chan further claims that no matter whether the play is original or translated, the performance text should be written in Hongkong-speak. He objects to the idea of using English syntax in Cantonese dialogues in order to "preserve" the spirit of the source play. The primary goals of using the local tongue are to facilitate on-the-spot comprehension by the local audience and to manifest "local flavour" (本土特色 *bentu tese*). His famous puns, quips, double entendres, riddles and ditties all have to be delivered in Hongkong-speak in order to reproduce their efficacy and pungency. His unique way of translating characters' names is particularly noteworthy. For instance, in his translation of Ray Cooney's *It Runs in the Family* (《風流醫生手尾長》*Fengliu*

yisheng shouwei chang [The philandering doctor who has many matters to follow up on]; Chung Ying, 1995), he translates the heroine's name from Diane Hill to 戴惜人 (Dai Xiren; c. *Daai³ Sik¹ᵒ-yan⁴*), using the first syllable of Diane as the Chinese surname. It is a homonym of a local idiom 戴眼識人 (*dai yan shiren*; c. *daai³-ngaan⁵ sik¹ᵒ-yan⁴*), meaning one should open one's eyes and be careful when dealing with people. Sometimes Chan's translation is a hybrid of various languages and cultures (other than Chinese and English), which precisely reflects the flexibility of Hongkong-speak. In《胡天胡帝》 (*Hutian hudi* [Fooling with heaven and king]; Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts, 1990), a translation of Alfred Jarry's *Ubu Roi*, Chan, obviously inspired by the English translation ''sccchitt'', converts the French *merde* into 卡拉疴茄 (*ka¹-la¹ oh¹-ke¹*), a near homophone of the Japanese word *karaoke*, which was all the rage in Hong Kong in the 1990s. 疴茄 in Hongkong-speak means "to empty one's bowels."

Relocation of settings

It is Chan's espousal of Hongkong-speak which has determined his predilection to transplant the settings of foreign plays to contexts familiar to the local audience. Of his 40 theatre translations, 11 have their backgrounds relocated to Hong Kong and 6 to China (see Tables 7.1a–c). Chan terms the former category "localisation" (本地化 *bendi hua*) and the latter "sinification" (中國化 *Zhongguo hua*). One salient feature of his relocations is that the new setting is rarely the immediate here and now, i.e., modern-day Hong Kong. The new background is, in most cases, either pre-war Hong Kong, i.e., the 1920s–40s, or Guangdong province in the Tang Dynasty or at the turn of the 20th century. In the localisation category (see Table 7.1b), more than half of the plays are relocated to the pre-war Hong Kong of the 1920s to 1940s.[5] Such a

preference for pre-war Hong Kong, according to Chan, stems primarily from his nostalgia for his grandmother's language habits and the Hong Kong dialect, which, especially in the Japanese occupation era, was a fusion of archaic and vernacular Cantonese, with an occasional sprinkling of broken English.

Another recurring setting for Chan's translations is Guangdong province in the Tang dynasty: for instance, *Lantern Festival* and《美人如玉劍如虹》 (*Cyrano de Bergerac*; *Meiren ru yüjian ru xiong* [A beautiful woman is like jade, a sword is like a rainbow]; Chung Ying, 1990). On many occasions Chan expresses his fondness for Tang poetry–for its musicality, its narrative capacity and its potential to retain the formal beauty of Shakespearean prose. He also finds the Tang poetic form, when delivered in Cantonese on stage, a viable substitute for archaic Western poems and ballades. For example, in the concluding scene (Act V) of *Meiren ru yü jian ru xiong*, he uses three regulated poems (律詩 *lüshi*) and one quatrain poem (絕詩 *jueshi*) to replace the three ballades and one refrain spoken by Cyrano in the English version (see Table 7.2). Chan's translated poems cannot be said to be full translations, but can be considered doggerels containing semantic items roughly similar to the originals. According to Chan, free verse (新詩 *xinshi*) supposedly sounds closer to the English version, yet he insists on adopting the classical poetry form. Diligent efforts are made to reproduce the original rhythm by following the line length and tonality of the English ballades. The lengths of the original and of the translated poems are similar: the number of lines in each cadence is a multiple of four. The first three translated poems have eight lines, with the final syllables of the first, the second, the fourth, the sixth and the eighth lines rhyming with the *~ung* sound in Cantonese, while the refrain repeats the same rhyme in its second and fourth lines. All the English poems end with the same line, as do the Chinese poems. Chan also changes certain

cultural-specific imagery and allusions. For example, he replaces peacocks with tigers, and "Lancelot" and "Spartacus" with 項伯 (Xiang Bo), 項莊 (Xiang Zhuang), 鍾紳 (Zhong Shen) and 鍾縉 (Zhong Jun).

Yet linguistic concerns are only half of the picture. Other factors that affect the choice of setting are performability and plausibility. The new, relocated setting should justify the actions and mannerisms of the characters in the foreign plays. In *Cyrano de Bergerac*, Hercule Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac is a duelist, a poet and a musician in 17th-century France. The plot involves many scenes where the protagonist combats various foes while composing ballades. It would appear even stranger for Chinese actors to duel and recite verses simultaneously in modern attire than in period costume. The Tang dynasty, when swordplay and poetry were both popular pursuits among men of letters, is thus a sensible substitute for the time setting.

Chan's relocation of settings does not at first sight appear to be a strategy designed to maximise intimacy with the audience. In fact, it seems more likely that to set the play in the immediate here and now would work better in this regard. However, although it may seem paradoxical, the temporal distance afforded by the period setting may actually help to facilitate reception on the part of the audience by affording them a sense of their heritage and of a multiplicity of selfhood.

References to Hong Kong's popular culture

Rupert Chan often taps the current affairs and popular culture of the territory and incorporates local elements in the translated dialogues. In *Meiren ru yü jian ru xiong*, he makes up a line: 太上老君有兩個丹爐：一個右丹爐，一個左丹爐 (*Taishang Laojun you*

liangge danlao: yige you danlao, yige zuo danlao; The Great Old Gentlemen has two cauldrons: the Right Cauldron and the Left Cauldron). "Left Cauldron" 左丹爐 (*joh³ dan¹-lo⁴*) is a homonym of Giordano 佐丹奴 (Zuodannu), the name of a chain of Hong Kong fashion shops, although strictly speaking 奴 should be pronounced as a nasal sound *no⁴*. In 2002, Chan translated Howard Ashman's musical *The Little Shop of Horrors* into Cantonese and called it 花樣獠牙 (*Huayang liaoya*; c. *Fa⁴-yeung⁶ liu⁴-nga⁴* [Flower-like buck teeth]; Chung Ying, 2002), a pun on the title of Wong Kar-wai's 2000 film 花樣年華 (*Huayang nianhua*; c. *Fa⁴-yeung⁶ nin⁴-wah⁴* [Flower-like years]; official English title: *In the Mood for Love*).

Chan's translation of *Hobson's Choice*, staged by Chung Ying in 1986, was published in book form in 1988. The translator's profile describes Chan's translation style as "close to the masses" 通俗 (*tongsu*) and "nostalgic" 懷舊 (*huaijiu*) (Chan 1988: 2–3). The two adjectives denote Chan's diachronic and synchronic alliance to Hong Kong culture, on which Chan elaborates in his preface. On the one hand, he thinks that overly genteel dialogues on stage are out of synch with everyday life and might be interpreted as unintended jokes. So he made plenty of allusions to the popular culture.

How "Hong Kong" can *Twelfth Night* be?

In *Laughter*, Henri Bergson wrote: "Language-related comedy might, perhaps, be translated from one tongue into another, although it would lose most of its sharpness in a new society where the habits, literature and especially the associations are different" (translated and quoted in Karsky 2004: 226) Rupert Chan concurs with this sentiment and adds that audiences do not have dictionaries and encyclopaedias to

guide them through the labyrinth of Shakespearean word plays and literary and cultural allusions, nor does the translator have the facility of footnotes and annotations, since it involves a live performance (Rupert Chan 2009). How, then, can the translator ensure a minimal loss of sharpness in the target language? With *Twelfth Night* Rupert Chan's strategy is wholesale domestication, making the world of Illyria more accessible to the spectators in Hong Kong in the 1980s. His principal concern is to endear the Shakespearean comedy to the Hong Kong audience in such a way that it resonates with them, and enables them to identify with what is happening on the stage (Chan 2000: 1009).

Chan's domestication agenda in *Lantern Festival* is somewhat self-contradictory. On the one hand, he aims to be as "true" to Shakespeare as possible. Almost all the scenes, actions and dialogues are retained. On the other hand, Chan also wants to eradicate all traces of "Westernness". In addition to the relocation of the setting, the title of the play, as well as the names of the festival, the places and the characters are thoroughly sinified. He renders the dialogue in a distinctly Hong Kong Cantonese style, and by this means, with the thorough substitution of cultural markers and the frequent use of slang and sexual innuendo, adroitly manoeuvres his adaptation close to a model familiar to Cantonese-speaking audiences. He compares his seemingly contradictory approach to a sort of fusion cuisine, such as roasted quail in soy sauce (Chan 2000: 109)--the quail is Western, but the (re)presentation of it is "marinated" in a Chinese way. Then we will have to ask: how Chinese can *Twelfth Night* be? How is the foreignness being replaced? How does the relocation of setting affect the theme development and characterisation? How are the characters, now donning Chinese clothes and speaking the Chinese tongue, being reconstructed?

Chan's *Twelfth Night* was derided by one famous scholar and dramatist, who

claimed that Chan's adaptation has "raped" the Bard of Avon and the "sinified version of Shakespearean play is unsightly if not abhorrent" (Chan 1992a: 215). Yet Chan remained unapologetic. He claims to have obtained the dramatic licence to relocate, thus making the events and actions of the characters more acceptable to the audience. Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* is itself an adaptation which combines several sources. The ultimate source is held to be the anonymous Sienese comedy, *Gl'Ingannati*, first performed at a carnival in 1531, and the script was frequently reprinted, translated, or imitated during the course of the 16th century. Shakespeare may also have known Bandello's story, which follows the plot of *Gl'Ingannati* closely; and he probably knew Riche's *Apolonius and Silla* (1581), derived indirectly and with variations from Bandello (Lothian and Craik 1974: xxxv). In any case, many of Shakespeare's situations in *Twelfth Night* were taken from the common stock of situations in classical and medieval romance. Chan justifies his adaptation by pointing to the impure origins and transferability of the Shakespearean play—if those Italian stories could be retold in English, why can't they be presented in Cantonese and transferred to Guangdong? Just as the Illyrians in *Twelfth Night* would speak English on stage, in the translated performance it is only natural for the Hong Kong actors to speak Cantonese in a story set against a Canton background.

Setting: A disguised Hong Kong

Rupert Chan relocates *Twelfth Night* from Illyria, Italy to the Lingnan 嶺南 region, which includes Guangdong and the nearby provinces in southeastern China. Hong Kong is located in the Lingnan region. The temporal background is the Tang dynasty (618–907). The temporal and geographical shifts necessitate and facilitate further sinification. First of all, the official titles and birthplaces of the characters have all

been made Chinese. Orsino, originally Duke of Illyria, becomes the Governor of Lingnan (嶺南節度使 *Lingnan jiedushi*). Still wealthy and noble, Olivia obtains a new identity as a Ministry Councillor (員外 *yuanwai*) in Guangzhou. Viola and Sebastian come from Messaline, which Chan changes to Chaozhou 潮州. Sir Andrew Aguecheek, now called尉遲岸汐 (Yuchi Anxi), comes from Hangzhou 杭州, which partly explains his halting and broken Cantonese; while Sir Toby Belch, now called鮑菟鼙 (Bao Tupi) comes from Xuantu玄菟, which is a pun on 圓肚 (both pronounced *yuen*^{4}-*to*^{5} in Cantonese), meaning a round belly.

The play title *Twelfth Night* is an obvious marker of foreignness. "Twelfth Night" is a reference to the twelfth night after Christmas Day, called the Eve of the Feast of Epiphany. It was originally a Catholic holiday but, prior to Shakespeare's time, had become a day of revelry. Servants often dressed up as their masters, men as women and so forth. This history of festive ritual and carnivalesque reversal is the cultural origin of the play's confusion. For the Chinese equivalent, Rupert Chan adopts as the background the Lantern Festival (元宵節 *Yuanxiaojie* or 上元節 *Shangyuanjie*), which is a Chinese festival celebrated on the fifteenth day of the first month in the lunar calendar. It is also known as the Little New Year since it marks the end of the series of celebrations starting from the Chinese New Year. According to Chinese tradition, at the very beginning of a new year, many colourful lanterns, symbolising good luck and hope, are hung up for people to appreciate. Young people are chaperoned in the streets in the hope of finding love, and matchmakers are busy at work attempting to bring couples together. It is a festival of love and conviviality, which is similar to the Saturnalian spirit that pervades the Shakespearean play. In such celebratory festivals, tomfoolery, pursuits of love, and reversals of social roles, in which people may ostensibly switch places, are allowed, often with hilarious results.

In Chan's rendering of *Twelfth Night*, the Italian noble court has been suitably sinified, reflecting a disparate system of gentry and gender, and its disintegration, as well as the gratifying reintegration in the end. In the following paragraphs we shall examine aspects of performability and plausibility related to the Canton setting, specifically how it helps communicate messages of gender role reversal and smooth over any possible culture shock by appealing to a similar cultural imagination in Chinese literature and performing arts.

Twelfth Night is as much a vindication as a deprecation of romance. It probes into the themes of gender and identity. Viola, the protagonist, actualises these themes through her transformation from an upper-class lady into a male servant named Cesario. Shakespeare's depiction of gender politics in the play is progressive for his time, exploring the rich implications of a woman dominating a relationship. Viola, like most of Shakespeare's heroines, is a tough cookie. A shipwreck survivor, she recovers from her grief over the disappearance of her twin brother and becomes intent on making her own way in the world. Entrapped in her double-gendered disguise, her love for Orsino nevertheless seems of the purest sort. The other characters' passions are fickle: Orsino jumps from Olivia to Viola, Olivia jumps from Viola to Sebastian, and Sir Toby and Maria's marriage seems more a matter of whim than an expression of deep and abiding love. Only Viola seems to be truly, passionately in love, as opposed to being self-indulgently lovesick. On the other hand, Olivia seems to have assumed the more masculine role. Her social role as head of a rich, noble household empowers her to keep unwanted male suitors at bay, despite their high birth and haughty bearing. Yet the experience of Orsino's suit has made Olivia feel strongly her inability to shape the course of the relationship. In response to his advances she may only consent or attempt rebuff. In Cesario, though,

she can perceive something feminine in looks and manner that makes her feel that she could assume a position of power to dictate the terms of the acquaintance. The heterosexual courtship is put under scrutiny when such a major tenet as male dominance is subverted. Yet both Viola and Olivia end up in the role prescribed by their gender as subjects of their husbands in marriage, and this untested mode of femininity is let loose in the giddy freedom of comedy. On the other hand, conventional male gallantry pales into insignificance by comparison when it comes to romance. Orsino is a supreme egotist who revels in the idea of being in love. Sebastian, not as well-rounded a character as his sister, seeks protection from Antonio all the way and agrees to marry Olivia, whom he has never met, soon after their first encounter.

In order to put such implications of gender role reversal across in stage translation, a sociocultural context with an appropriate level of progressiveness is called for. In simple terms, the historical setting should be liberal enough for female dominance to be conceivable, yet not too liberal lest the impact be lost. With gender equality prevailing in modern-day Hong Kong, girl power is hardly a groundbreaking concept. The Tang era appears to be a suitable background, when women's social rights and status, although relatively low by today's standards, rose to a high for the medieval period. Generally, men enjoyed the presence of assertive, active women (Gernet 1962: 165–66; Ebrey 1999: 114–15). For the first time in Chinese history there emerged a female emperor. In 690, Wu Zetian 武則天 dethroned Emperor Ruizong 唐睿宗, changed the state title to "Zhou" 周, named herself Emperor Shensheng 神聖皇帝, and ruled China for over 50 years. Interestingly, this presents a parallel with Shakespeare's time when Elizabeth the First was Queen of England. It is possible that the fact that Queen Elizabeth and Wu Zetian were both

female rulers inspired Chan to set *Lantern Festival* in the Tang dynasty and to emphasise the theme of female dominance. Literary counterparts to strong real-life women figures have an even longer history in China. Chinese women first appeared as fearless lady knights-errant with spectacular resolve and martial art skills in the Tang dynasty *chuanqi* (傳奇, literally meaning 'legendary tales'). *Extensive Gleanings of the Reign of Great Tranquility* (太平廣記 *Taiping guangji*), a comprehensive collection of pre-Song fiction edited by Li Fang 李昉 (952–996), contains twenty-four accounts of gallant knights-errant in four chapters, seven of which are accounts of chivalrous women characters: "The Curly-Bearded Stranger" (虯髯客 *Qiuran ke*), "The Woman Inside a Carriage" (車中女子 *Chezhong nüzi*), "Cui Shensi['s Wife]" (崔慎思 *Cui Shensi*), "The Mysterious Girl of the Nie Family" (聶隱娘 *Nie Yinniang*), "Red Thread" (紅綫 *Hongxian*), "The Merchant's Wife" (賈人妻 *Guren qi*), and "Lady Jing the Thirteenth" (荊十三娘 *Jing shisan niang*) (Lai 1999: 90–91). It would be fanciful to suppose that during the Tang dynasty women broke through patriarchal oppression, but the emergence of active, assertive and even aggressive women figures, in both political and literary realms, cannot be denied. It may be safely assumed that women characters who are daring and independent, such as Viola and Olivia, would not at once appear alien to a Chinese audience.

Cross-dressing in *Twelfth Night* is another issue that needs to be handled carefully in theatre translation. The emergence of "queer studies" in academia has led many critics to establish same-sex erotic attraction as the main theme of the play.[6] On the other hand, how to rationalise cross-dressing on the Hong Kong stage and how to convince the local audience to accept and appreciate it is the main concern in Rupert Chan's rendition of the play. In fact, cross-dressing has a unique significance in Cantonese opera and martial arts films. Troupes in Guangdong province and

Hong Kong have prominently featured actresses dressed as men. By relocating *Twelfth Night* to Tang dynasty China, Rupert Chan capitalises on the fascination for male impersonation in the cultural imagination of people in many layers of contemporary Chinese society, and imbues the Shakespearean plot with a sense of a déjà vu for the Hong Kong audience.

Characters' names

Linguistically, names are the most conspicuous and instantaneous index of the foreign. Brigitte Schultze proposes five different modes of rendering personal names in drama translation: direct transfer, adaptation, substitution, semantic translation and transfer of an artistic device. The attention a translator pays to the various levels of meaning and function, and his or her final choice among the various modes of rendering names are closely connected with his or her understanding of cultural transfer and cultural identity (Schultze 2007: 92–94). Rupert Chan considers the rendering of personal names as a creative act in its own right. The Chinese names in *Lantern Festival* are partial or selective translations. Direct transfer, i.e., keeping the English names intact, which would clash with the play's relocation to a different background, is not a viable option. Transliterating English names in a straightforward manner may pose difficulties for pronunciation, and this could be sufficient reason to modify the names, change them completely, or leave them out, if possible, as they might draw attention to themselves or might even confuse the audience. Chan's approach is a combination of adaptation and semantic translation. Following Chinese conventions, the translated names carry both denotative and connotative meanings, which also accentuate the traits of the characters. Shakespeare does not give all of his characters family names, but Rupert Chan does, except for

servants' names. The translated names are generally made up of three or four Chinese characters: the first (or the first two, in the case of Sir Andrew Aguecheek) is the family name, while the second and third characters are the given name. Given names are made up of two characters, and in *Lantern Festival* characters carrying a felicitous meaning are selected. For instance, Viola's Chinese family name is 石 (*Shi*; c. *Sek*^{6} [stone]), and her given name 蕙蘭 (*Huilan*; c. *Wai*^{6}*-laan*^{4} [cymbidium]), which is a popular and beautiful Chinese orchid species. Family names always precede given names, therefore Viola, when converted into a Chinese name, should be石蕙蘭 (*Sek*^{6} *Wai*^{6}*-laan*^{4}), and not 蕙蘭石 (*Wai*^{6}*-laan*^{4} *Sek*^{6}). The servants' family names are often omitted, as they are considered as simply property sold into their masters' families. Therefore, in *Lantern Festival* Feste and Maria do not have family names. Chinese names such as 茅福祿 (*Mao Fulu*; c. *Maau*^{4} *Fuk*^{1o}*-luk*^{6}), for Malvolio, are exceptions, as the Cantonese transliteration closely matches the original English pronunciation. The Chinese names of all the characters, as well as the Romanisation of the Cantonese pronunciation and meaning, are listed in Tables 7.3 and 7.4.

Chan uses names to accentuate the traits of the characters and indicate social hierarchy. Aristocratic female characters are given Chinese names which compare the ladies to flowers, highlighting their beauty and femininity. Viola's Chinese name has been explained above. For Olivia, the family name is萼 (Yue, c. *Ngok*^{6}), meaning "calyx"; and her given name綠華 (Lühua; c. *Luk*^{6}*-wa*^{4}), meaning "green flower". Maria's beauty is also reflected in her Chinese name 晚霞 (Wanxia; c. *Maan*^{4}*-ha*^{4}), which means "rosy clouds before sunset". As her name indicates, splendid as it may be, Maria's beauty takes on a dimmer, more subtle glow, which is likely to fade as evening approaches. It is only proper, according to Chinese conventions, that the glamour of the serving woman should not outshine that of her mistress. Noblemen's

names carry images of magnificent architecture. Orsino is translated as賀省廬 (He Shenglu; c. *Hoh*^{6} *Saang*^{2}*-lo*^{4}), in which 賀 means celebration and 省廬 means a manor in the province. Sebastian's given name is 芭亭 (Bating; c. *Ba*^{1}*-ting*^{4}), a pavilion surrounded by palms. The affluence and aristocratic origins of the two gentlemen are aptly reflected in the translated names. The Chinese names also hint at the profession, experiences, or personality of the characters. Feste, the name of the clown in Olivia's household, is translated as吉慶 (Jiqing; c. *Gat*^{1o}*-hing*^{3}), meaning felicity and celebration, which reminds us that he is a professional fool. In a similar vein, Antonio's Chinese name, 況東洋 (Kuang Dongyang; c. *Fong*^{3} *Dung*^{1}*-yeung*^{4}), connects him with his seafaring profession. 石沙鷗 (Shi Sha'ou; c. *Sek*^{6} *Sa*^{1o}*-au*^{1}), meaning a seagull, symbolises Cesario's desolation after the shipwreck.

Similarly, personal titles have been thoroughly sinified. Taking into account linguistic and sociocultural asymmetries between the source and target sides, Chan replaces the source text titles with completely different titles characteristic of the target culture. With official titles, a count becomes員外 (*yuanwai*, instead of 伯爵 *baizuo*) and a duke becomes 國公爺 (*guogongye*; instead of 公爵*gongzuo*). Certain of the original titles include Greek mythological allusions, for which a Buddhist (or sometimes Daoist) background is substituted. For example, Satan becomes 閻羅王 (*Yanluowang*), King Yama, the supreme judge of the dead in Buddhism. Pythagoras is now 鳩摩羅什 (*Jiumoluoji*, Sanskrit: *Kumarajiva*; 344–413 CE), the Kuchean Buddhist monk and scholar remembered for his prolific translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese. Master Parson, who play tricks on Malvolio, becomes 龍虎山正一真張天師 (*Longhu shan zhengyi zhenzhang tianshi*), in which 天師 refers to a Daoist master and 真張大師 (c. *jan*^{1}*-jeung*^{1} *daai*^{6}*-sze*^{1}, meaning "truth-expounding master") is a pun on緊張大師 (c. *gan*^{2}*-jeung*^{1} *daai*^{6}*-sze*^{1}, meaning "control freak" in Cantonese). And Lethe,

the river of forgetfulness, is replaced by 奈何橋 (*Naihe qiao*, literally meaning "bridge of the nether world"), over which in Daoist mythology ghosts must pass before reincarnation.

By semantically translating, rather than transliterating, the names and titles, Chan firmly grounds names within the Cantonese cultural context. The names are so localised that they give no hints of cultural transfer. It is interesting to note that Chan's naming approach is strikingly similar to that adopted in translating the names of Hong Kong governors during the colonial period, for which Chan expresses admiration in his aforementioned book on Hongkong-speak (Chan 1991: 110–11). According to Fong (1998: 420–44), the naming of Hong Kong governors is a kind of "reverse mimicry". In other words, the foreign (the British coloniser) imitates the local (Hong Kong), rather than the other way round. From the translated names alone, many of the British governors might be mistaken for locally born Chinese. Such thorough domestication seemingly eradicates foreignness and renders the translation process invisible.

Bawdy jokes and wordplays

Shakespeare's comedic dialogues are filled with bawdy jokes and wordplays, and Rupert Chan appears undaunted when translating them into Cantonese. In Act II, Scene 5, Maria has written a letter carefully designed to trick Malvolio into thinking that Olivia is in love with him:

MALVOLIO: By my life, this is my lady's hand. These be her
very C's, her U's and her T's and thus makes she her
great P's. It is, in contempt of question, her hand. (II.5.86–88)

茅福祿： 哎吔，係小姐 o 既手筆嘅。

> 佢 o 既撇、佢 o 既捺、佢 o 既戙，仲有佢 o 既鈎。
> 唔駛問，係佢 o 既筆跡。
>
> [Aiya, this is Madam's handwriting.
> Her down stroke to the left, her down stroke to the right, her vertical stroke, and her hook.
> No need to ask further, this is her handwriting.]

(Chan 1986; II.5)

Here Olivia's English calligraphy finds its equivalent in Chinese, and the letters (C-U-T, or "cut") become the strokes in Chinese characters 撇 (*pie*; c. *pit*[3] [down stroke to the left]), 捺 (*na*; c. *naat*[3] [down stroke to the right]), 戙 (*dong*; c. *dung*[6] [vertical stroke]). The Renaissance slang term for female genitalia is cleverly translated as 戙, a homophone of 洞, literally meaning a "hole." The English letter "P", which strongly suggests a reference to the penis, is translated as 鈎 (*gou*; c. *au*[1]), literally meaning a "hook" in the letter. Maria also hints at the identity of "the unknown beloved", representing it by the letters M.O.A.I. To translate the riddle, Chan extracts the radicals 茅 (*mao*; c. *mao*[4] [straw]), 田 (*tian*; c. *tin*[4] [field]), 口 (*kou*; c. *hau*[2] [mouth]), 水 (*shui*; c. *sui*[2] [water]) from the Chinese characters of Malvolio's name 茅福祿, and derives from them lewd comments which hint at sexual intercourse. Chan also remarks in the translated play script that the actors should emphasise those puns for comedic effect, and during the performance the audience responded with knowing laughter (Chan 1992b: 219).

Switch between registers and dialects

In *Twelfth Night*, Shakespeare carefully distinguishes between different social classes by switching between verse and prose. Nobles like Olivia, Orsino and Viola speak in highly refined verse and the low-class characters talk in prose. The latter group

aspire to speak in the formal language of their superiors, but do not have the finesse to achieve this and often become objects of ridicule. Chan makes considerable efforts to recreate such class distinctions in his translation. In *Lantern Festival*, the high-class characters speak in classical Chinese verse, and the low-born characters talk in colloquial Cantonese peppered with slang expressions and bawdy jokes. For example:

VIOLA: What country, friends, is this?

石蕙蘭： 借問船家，此處屬何州何府？

[Excuse me, Captain, may I enquire which province and which city this place belongs to?]

CAPTAIN: This is Illyria, lady.

船家： 呢度係廣州呀小姐。

[This is Guangzhou, Miss.]

VIOLA: And what should I do in Illyria?
My brother, he is in Elysium.
Perchance he is not drowned. What think you, sailors?

石蕙蘭： 我到廣州何所事？
胞兄已在廣寒宮！
若邀天幸，佢可能未曾淹死。船家意下如何？

[For what matter did I come to Guangzhou?
My kin brother is already in Guanghan Palace.
With Heaven's blessing, I hope that he may not be drowned. What do you think, Captain?]

CAPTAIN: It is perchance that you yourself were saved.

船家： 都係邀天之幸，妳方才幸而獲救。

[It is also Heaven's blessing just now that you were luckily saved.]

(I.2.1–6)

(Chan 1986; I.2)

Viola makes a courteous enquiry about the place in which she finds herself, and for this question, she uses借問 (*jiewen*; c. *je*^{3}-*man*^{6}), which is equivalent to the English "May I enquire …". Where Viola uses the word 此處 (*cichu*; c. *chi*^{2}-*chue*^{2}, a formal

expression only used in written Chinese) to mean "this place", the Captain uses the Cantonese word呢度 (*nidu*; c. *ne^{1o}-do^{6}*). Viola then expresses her premonition that her brother Sebastian may have been drowned and gone to Elysium, which refers to heaven in Greek mythology. Elysium is substituted by 廣寒宮 (*Guanghan gong*)—a palace on the moon—in the Cantonese version. Viola hopes for miracles, using the archaic, literary word *perchance*, which the Captain quickly picks up in his reply. Correspondingly Rupert Chan translates it as 邀天之幸 (*yao tian zhi xin*; c. *yiu^{1}-tin^{4} ji^{1} hang^{6}*) and emphasises the luck factor in a Chinese way—Sebastian would need the blessing of heaven to have survived the shipwreck. The set of words referring to death and fortune has thus been replaced with the Chinese equivalents. In addition, in the English original Viola is not using blank verse, just prose, but in the Chinese translation, she uses a kind of genteel and slightly archaic Cantonese, which is akin to *wenyan* 文言. The Captain, however, replies in vernacular Cantonese. By contrasting the choices of diction made by Viola and the Captain and recreating the copycat speech style of the latter, our translator emphasises the class distinction even more cogently than our playwright.

Hongkong-speak slang

The makeover of Illyria goes beyond relocation and renaming. For Chan, it is important for the audience not only to see but also to hear the local in action in the theatre. The language and register of the translation is markedly localised, and this is not limited to Chan's recasting the dialogues in Cantonese. The dialogues are, in fact, littered with typically Hongkong-speak colloquialisms, as opposed to their standard Chinese expressions. There are numerous examples of this in *Lantern Festival*. In Act II Scene 5, we find typical Cantonese curse phrases which are used to translate their

English counterparts:

MARIA:	… Lie thou there: …	(II.5.20)
晚霞：	匿埋先……	(Chan 1986; II.5)
	[Hide up …]	
FESTE:	O, peace! …	(II.v.30)
吉慶:	咪嘈！	(Chan 1986; II.5)
	[Don't make any noise!]	
MALVOLIO:	… and after a demure travel of regard, …	(II.v.51–52)
茅福祿：	……對眼邪邪圈一掃……	(Chan 1986; II.5)
	[… my eyes take a circle around and look …]	
SIR TOBY:	Bolts and shackles!	(II.v.74)
鮑菟鼙：	你去死啦！	(Chan 1986; II.5)
	[You go to die!]	
SIR TOBY:	Out, scab!	(II.v.74)
鮑菟鼙：	混你個帳！	(Chan 1986; II.5)
	[Bull-you-shit!]	

The tone and the sentence structure of the above examples are close to colloquial Hongkong-speak used in contemporary times. Chan's rendering of the Shakespearean dialogues can be termed "inventive compromise"—while he makes generous use of Hongkong-speak in the translated speeches, both phonetically and semantically, he also closely follows Shakespeare's style of comedic dialogue.

Staging Hongkongness

Chan's espousal of Hongkong-speak and his use of it in theatre translation reveals his espousal of a Hong Kong identity. Intentionally or unintentionally, he was forging a Hong Kong identity, made distinctive, *inter alia*, by its everyday language. Andrew Simpson concurs that "the new Hong Kong identity was very much dominated and in great measure signaled" by the "form of speech" utilised in various forms of

expression of the Hong Kong identity found daily (such as film, pop music and television), as well as in everyday, colloquial interactions among the Chinese population of Hong Kong (2007:173)[7] If one supposes that Hong Kong Cantonese, or Hongkong-speak, has been significant in the construction of a Hong Kong identity, how should one begin to understand this significance in the context of theatre translation, as opposed to its common usage elsewhere?

Language choice as a political act

Chan's translations of Western drama into Hongkong-speak appear to have been based on his desire to produce an enjoyable performance and his pursuit of personal satisfaction. His motives are more artistic than ideological. After all, the translation of a play script from English into Hongkong-speak requires considerable effort and creative and linguistic talent, as Chan unabashedly said himself (1991: 215–16; 1992: 213; 2006: 8; 2009). Furthermore, in his book and in his interview with the writer, he asserted firmly that Hongkongers speak a unique and beautiful language. He believes that

> No matter whether it is translated or original drama, as long as it is produced for the Hong Kong audience, it should adopt the local language [Hongkong-speak] in order to highlight local flavour. Personally I adore the liveliness of Hongkong-speak, which is in a process of continuous evolution and innovation. Now that our local language has dominated the advertising field, how can the theatre choose other languages than Hongkong-speak?
>
> (my translation; Chan 1991: 216)

Within this statement lies a clear linguistic preference for the local over the national, (although they do not necessarily stand in antagonistic opposition). Underlying the choice of Hongkong-speak is his desire, possibly subconscious, to assert a Hong

Kong identity, even though he does not generally give explicitly political or ideological reasons for his translation choices. Frederic Jameson (2002: 5) maintains that "there is nothing that is not social and historical", indeed, that everything is "in the last analysis political." He argues that individuals and groups are necessarily conditioned by their position in society, and that their actions and decisions are inevitably informed by a "political unconscious". Thus even where cultural production and consumption do not appear to be political acts, they are nevertheless influenced by this political unconscious, the prevailing ideology. Whether people conform to or resist this ideology, their choice is, consciously or unconsciously, a political decision. By choosing to render translated drama in Hongkong-speak, Chan is deliberately promoting Hongkong-speak as the official Chinese language of the territory, at least for himself and the audience, and this is linked to the desire to foster a sense of identification with the territory and to play up a sense of Hongkongness.

Little work has been done in exploring the choice made between the two languages of a diglossic community in translating plays[8] and the politics and ideologies informing that choice. Yet there is an increasingly obvious tendency to read identity politics into theatre translation into dialect, perhaps unwittingly following Jameson's political (and more specifically Marxist) strategy of reading literary texts and judging cultural products. Annie Brisset (1990/1996) investigated the Québécois translation of dramatic works that had been first translated into the official French. She argues that Québécois theatre translation reflects a desire for a language of one's own. This reflects the nationalistic quest for political autonomy in Quebec, and for a Québécois identity. It also represents resistance to the federal bilingualism in Canada, to the foreign cultural French, and to the socioeconomic colonisation by the English language.

In a similar vein, John Corbett (1999), in his study of the phenomenon of dialect translation in Scotland, agrees with Bassnett and Lefevere's (1998: 6) understanding of translation as "constructing cultures". He asserts that "literary translation has long been perceived as one way in which to raise the status of language", and he goes on to specify that "translation into Scots" has consistently served to "mark some degree of cultural independence, usually in implicit or explicit opposition to England and English" (Corbett 1999: 6–7). Corbett's view is echoed by Bill Findlay, who reflects on his own translations of Michel Tremblay's dramatic works into Scots with Martin Bowman:

> The long-standing predominance of Standard English translations in Scottish (and British) theatres more often than not delivered in the class-associated accent of Received Pronunciation had misrepresented both the nonstandard linguistic nature of much Western drama (contemporary and classic) and its rootedness in the texture of a particular national or regional culture.
>
> (Findlay 2000: 37)

Findlay considers Scots translation as an attempt to provide an alternative to standard English and to challenge the cultural colonialism of the majority language; to fight for linguistic freedom for British stage translations into Scots is thus a political and a resistant act.

In her study of a German translation of the cockney dialogues in Edward Bond's *Saved* and an Italian translation of George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*, Manuela Perteghella (2002) proposes that translation reveals a translator's strong affiliation to the local language, which is representative of their sense of membership of a group, to a region or a social community. A shared language between the translator, the actors and the audience allows identification with other members of that community. It also distinguishes one language group from another, as underlined by Corbett

(1999: 6): "Language difference is one of the markers of national difference."

Jane Wilkinson (2005) takes the preference for dialect in theatre productions further and explicitly affirms the relationship between theatre translation into dialects and identity construction. She examines the choice to translate plays from "Hochdeutsch" (the standard form of the German language) into local dialect by amateur theatre groups on the Swiss shore of the German-speaking borderland of Lake Constance. She believes that the translation of plays into dialect is a reflection of what R. Watt terms the Swiss "ideology of dialect":

> [Ideology of dialect refers to] any set of beliefs about language in which, in a scenario in which a standardized written language coexists with a number of non-standard oral dialect varieties, the symbolic value of the dialects in the majority of linguistic marketplaces in which they are in competition with the standard is not only believed to be much higher than that of the standard but is also deliberately promoted as having a higher value.
>
> (Watt 1999: 69)

Wilkinson goes on to explain that this valuing and promoting of dialects over the standard written form of the German language is linked to the desire to value and promote a sense of Swiss identity. She quotes Watt (1999: 75) again: "For the German-speaking Swiss the dialect functions, in other words, as a badge of Swissness, an emblem of 'belonging' to Switzerland, which is more powerful than any other emblem."

Accentuation of local lifestyle

While the Hongkong-speak Chan uses in his theatre translations signifies a sense of belonging and allegiance to the territory and its people, the strong Hong Kong identity evinced by this language may rather represent an attachment to the *lifestyle*

in Hong Kong. The complicated nature of Hongkong-speak, as discussed in Chan's own book, is evidence of the prevalence of things foreign in the daily life of Hongkongers, such as Hollywood films, Japanese television drama and Indian security guards. He also frequently inserts references to popular culture. For instance, in his adaptation of *A Small Family Business*, he often uses popular and newly coined phrases like 最後答案 (*zuihou da'an* [final answer]) and 過咗保險綫 (*guo zuo baoxian xian* [past the safety line]) from the Hong Kong version of *Who Wants to Be A Millionaire*, a "translated" television quiz programme which was hugely popular at the time of the performance (To 2005).

The desire to reduce distance between the translated drama and the local audience, particularly to make the story context relevant to the local lifestyle, drove Chan's theatre translation beyond the substitution of the local dialect into the transplantation of the setting to the local context. While *Lantern Festival* is transplanted in the Tang dynasty to celebrate his love for Cantonese opera, he also revised one of his theatre translations to lament its decreasing popularity in the territory. In 1983 he translated John Murray and Alan Boretz's *Room Service* into Hongkong-speak and kept the original Broadway setting. In 1992 when he revised the translation, he switched the setting to Hong Kong and identified the performance troupe in distress as a Cantonese opera company. In fact, the survival of Cantonese opera in Hong Kong was under threat in the 1990s owing to rising production costs, the closure of major performance venues (e.g., The Lee Theatre 利舞台), and the ageing of the opera stars and loyal audience groups.

One may argue that any language inherently reflects the lifestyle of the people, albeit to different degrees. In Chan's case, he not only uses the everyday language of Hong Kong people, but also aligns the setting to reflect the local lifestyle. The

relationship between his use of Hongkong-speak, his relocation of settings and his emphasis on the local lifestyle is multi-layered. Compared with the cases discussed in the sections above, which principally involve linguistic shifts, Chan's approach reflects a more profound sense of a Hong Kong identity.

Quasi-allegiance to China

Chan's Hongkong-speak translation shows an interesting time orientation. In his changing of settings to the Tang dynasty or to pre-war Guangdong, in his translation of verses into doggerel similar to Tang poems and his adoption of a performance style inspired by Cantonese opera, there is an obvious positive link with the cultural heritage of classical China in previous centuries. Not unlike Richard Ho, Chan embraces what Tu Wei-ming terms a "cultural China". Second, there is a synchronic alignment with modern-day Hong Kong. The translated dialogues are in vernacular Hong Kong Cantonese. Chan believes his theatre translations principally serve the local audience (Chan 1997: 147) and he feels obliged to cater for them. He sees Hong Kong Cantonese as the most expressive communicative medium in Hong Kong, so he dismisses the possibility of translating into modern standard Chinese. Despite the strong linguistic connection with the present Hong Kong, he shuns current socio-political issues and appears to uphold the idea that theatre is art and entertainment (Rupert Chan 2009). Even if the producers wanted political comments, Chan would insist on the universality of theatre and tone any political comment down to subtle allegory. He states that *jie gu yu jin* 借古喻今 [using the past to satirise the present] or *jie xi yu dong* 借西喻東 [using the West to satirise the East] is not his priority when it comes to theatre translation (Rupert Chan 2009). For instance, in his translation of Alan Ayckbourn's *A Small Family Business* for the HKREP in 2004, he

first changed the setting to modern-day Hong Kong upon director Fredric Mao's request, but then decided to switch it to Shenzhen, China. Chan's reasons were that with a Shenzhen setting, "a sense of distance could be maintained while certain bizarre aspects related to Hong Kong could be subtly reflected" (my translation, Rupert Chan's words; To 2005). He emphasises that the story is "universal" and the audience should "withdraw themselves from the story context while watching the play" (Chan 2006: 3). In the story the security guard bribes and blackmails the protagonist's family and triggers the downfall of the family and its business. Chan thinks that the existence of the Independent Commission Against Corruption means that an act of such flagrant corruption would not happen in Hong Kong (Chan 2006: 3). His efforts at localisation are manifested chiefly in the language, which contains an abundance of Hongkong-speak slang and references to popular culture (see Chan 2006; To 2005).

As a result, Rupert Chan's method of affirming a local identity through dialect translation is a different approach from that adopted in the above cases of Quebec, Scotland and Lake Constance. In Chan's case, the accent on the local language is not achieved through replacing or subverting the hierarchy of the official language; nor is the local identity highlighted at the expense of a broader, national (or ethnic) identity. The concept of China appeared to him to be compartmentalised. From different compartments he takes what is suitable for his adaptation, his audience's taste and hermeneutic competence, as well as his conception of the relationship between the Hong Kong identity and mainland China. The product—both his translation and the local identity represented therein—is a hyphenation as much as a hybrid. His approach could thus be described as partial and functional.

Neoculturation

Theatre translation is by nature a process and a product of transculturation. It is instructive to draw on the Cuban ethnologist F. Ortiz's differentiation between the interrelated notions of *transculturation* and *neoculturation*:

> We understand that the word *transculturation* better expresses the different phases of the transitive process of one culture to another, because this consists of not only acquiring a different culture, which is really what the Anglo-American word *acculturation* means, but the process also necessarily implies the loss or lack of hold of a first culture, that which can be called a partial *deculturation*, and it also points to the consequent creation of new cultural phenomena that could be called *neoculturation*. In effect, as the Malinowski school claims, in all embraces of cultures there is something of what happens in the genetic copulation of individuals: the child always has something of both progenitors, but it is always different from each of them.
>
> (Ortiz's words; translated and quoted in McKay and Wong 2000: 165)

Chan's localised theatre translations can be considered as neoculturation, as they go beyond the syncretic model of an uneasy fusion between two cultures and languages. They simultaneously note the coexistence of both Western and Eastern elements and highlight the loss that occurs in each of these systems when a third system is created. Chan extensively replaces the cultural markers in the source text and gives prominence to the local language and culture. By juxtaposing two cultural origins, he underlines the historic specificity and artistic originality of the neocultural product. Without concealing the fact that his works are adaptations of foreign drama, he artfully reveals the cultural divide and convinces the audience that it is indeed surmountable. While one may say that the two cultures merge and become acclimatised to each other, it may be more precise to say that they assimilate, substitute and alter each other to (re)produce a third, hybridised cultural form. The

process involves both gain and loss, although neither is absolute: the loss is partial and the gain makes up a new cultural product.

Chan admits to his neoculturation ambition in his domesticated theatre translations:

> Through domesticated adaptations, [I] connect the stems and leaves of foreign species into the trunks of local trees, enabling a kind of "transplant" chemical action, so that a new hybridized species will come into being.
>
> (my translation; Chan 2006: 4)

In the above sections, we have discussed how Chan has accentuated the hybrid nature of Hongkong-speak in his theatre translations. The local language develops itself through extensive "incorporation" (i.e., coining new expressions that combine the morphology of different languages) and "analogy" (i.e., imitation of the grammar of the "foreign" expressions in the grammar of the matrix language) (Pennington 1998: 11). The same can be said of the performance format of *Lantern Festival*, which is an intercultural mix of Cantonese operatic and Western dramatic elements. Chan stays faithful to the strong accent on music and songs in *Twelfth Night* and retains the half-song-half-speech format. He translates the poems and songs into Cantonese ditties in the same style as those in Cantonese opera, in which classical Chinese and vernacular Cantonese appear side by side, in both descriptive narrations and discourse contexts. He renders the rhymed couplets at the end of each scene into Cantonese couplets similar to the *gunhua* 滾花 [rolling flowers] style, a type of aria frequently used in Cantonese opera today. Chan considers it impossible to render the final song ("When that I was and a little tiny boy") into a format exactly the same as the original rhymed 16-line poem. Instead he transforms it into two rhymed 8-line ditties to be sung to the accompaniment of the *dongxiao* 洞簫 [Chinese bamboo flute] (Chan 1992: 219). Chan's attempt to imbue *Lantern Festival* with Cantonese operatic

elements is obvious and significant.[9] In fact, adapting Western drama into Cantonese opera is not entirely original. The localisation changes, both linguistically and stylistically, hark back to the Cantonese opera films of the period from the 1930s to the 1960s.[10] Yet in *Lantern Festival* the emphasis is on spoken drama (話劇 *huaju*), with a greater proportion of spoken lines than operatic songs.

Chan's Hongkong-speak as used in his theatre translation is a schizophrenic contextual combination of vernacular Cantonese, various Chinese dialects, different forms of written Chinese (as appear in various art forms, such as Tang poetry and Cantonese opera), and cheeky transliterations of English. It is typical of the hybrid language of Hong Kong of which many cultural critics are proud. It may be an upshot of the colonial past, a linguistic predicament and language incompetence, but it is a *positive* opportunity both for constructing a critical discourse against the pure Chinese nationalistic tradition and for problematising the classic binary opposition between East and West (Lee 1994: 11–23). Chen Guanzhong 陳冠中, a cultural critic and one of the founders of "City Magazine" 號外 (Haowai), advocates the use of hybrid language in writing as a major feature of Hong Kong culture. He further claims that such hybrid language and hybrid culture is a new source of imagination, a "savage" that rejuvenates the old Chinese civilisation, "like what African means for modern European arts, what the West means for the American spirit" (Chen 1997). As Rupert Chan himself preaches in his book *Hong Kong People Speak*, Hongkong-speak symbolises the autonomy, creativity and resourcefulness of Hong Kong culture. By using Hongkong-speak to retell Western stories in public performances, and by emphasising its artistic value, Chan credits Hong Kong and its language with being a unique cultural entity.

Coda

In his 1997 adaptation of *Pygmalion*, entitled *Miaotiao shunü* 窈窕淑女 [My fair lady], Chan devises two endings, in one of which the Hong Kong flower girl parts from the Oxford professor. Chan explains why she is determined to leave:

> You taught me English manners, so that I am transformed into a high-class lady. For that I owe you my gratitude. Yet at the end of the day I am still a Hongkonger. From now on I want to choose my own way.
>
> (Chan 2000: 108)

Chan thinks this line to a certain extent reflects the sentiment of Hong Kong people regarding the 1997 handover. While the compatriots in mainland China were enthusiastically celebrating the handover as a "redemption of a hundred years of national shame" 洗雪百年國恥 (*xixue bainian guoshi*), Chan thinks that the Hong Kong people felt differently—they viewed it as an opportunity to walk their own way, distinct from both Britain and China. The line quoted above also sums up the rationale behind the local Hong Kong language, Rupert Chan's domesticated theatre translation, and the Hong Kong identity: it always borrows, always changes and always has its own way.

NOTES

1. Chan cites a number of examples in his book, such as 多士 (*doh*^{1}-*si*^{6} [toast]), 媽打 (*ma*^{1}-*da*^{2} [mother]), 科騷 (foh^{1}-so^{1} [floor show]), and 威吔 (*wai*^{1}-*ya*^{1o} [wire]) (Chan 1991: 96, 111–12). In soccer commentaries, transliterated English jargon is often used, such as 歐西 (*au*^{1}-*sai*^{1} [outside]) and 洽西 (*haap*^{7}-*sai*^{1} [offside]) (116). Certain Japanese *kanji* expressions are used directly in Hongkong-speak, albeit pronounced in Cantonese. For instance, 大出血 (*daai*^{6}-*chut*^{1o}-*huet*^{3}; lit. trans. in Chinese: "big bleeding", here it means

"big spending"), 割引 (*goi*^{3}-*yan*^{5}; lit. trans. in Chinese: "to cut," here it means "sale") (108).

2. Gilbert C. F. Fong has written an analysis of the Chinese names given to Hong Kong governors and their relationship with identity construction in the territory. See Fong (1998).

3. Martha C. Pennnington describes the language-mixing phenomenon as "a middle-of-the-road linguistic habit":

> As a consequence of the increasing prosperity of Hong Kong, the majority of Cantonese-speaking Chinese fall less into "high" and "low" groups and increasingly into a vast "middle" class. Along with middle-class status come middle-of-the-road linguistic habits. In a bilingual or multilingual community, this is likely to mean making use of the available languages in some mixed forms or functions.
>
> (Pennington 1998: 5)

For further elaborations on the language-mixing phenomenon in Hong Kong, see, for instance, Luke (1998), and Pierson (1998).

4. Daniel C. S. Li echoes Chan's view on the essential purity of language use in Hong Kong. See Li (1998).

5. For example,《女大不中留》(*Hobson's Choice*, *Nü da bu zhongliu* [Grown-up daughters are not meant to be kept at home]) is moved from Lancashire, Britain at the beginning of the 20th century to 1940s Hong Kong; 《禧春酒店》(*L'hotel du libre exchange*; *Xichun jiudian* [Auspicious Spring Hotel]; Chung Ying, 1987) from 20th-century Venice to Hong Kong in the 1980s; 《木偶奇遇記》 (*Pinocchio*; *Mu'ou qiyu ji* [Adventures of a puppet]; Chung Ying, 1987) from 19th-century Italy to 1980s Hong Kong; 《狐狸品》 (*Volpone*; *Huli pin* [Conduct of a fox]; Chung Ying, 1991) from 17th-century Italy to 1930s Hong Kong; 《科班落難喜逢春》 (*Room Service*; *Keban luolan xi fengchun* [A distressed troupe is happy to rebounce]; Shatin Theatre Company, 1993) from New York in the 1930s to Hong Kong of the same period; and《窈窕淑女》(*Pygmalion*; *Miaotiao shunü* [My fair lady]; Springtime Production, 1997) from London in the early 20th century to 1930s Hong Kong.

6. For a discussion of the implications of cross-dressing and the homoerotic overtones, see, for example, Belsey (1985b); Howard (1988: 418–40); Shapiro (1994).

7. Andrew Simpson, in his book chapter on the language and identity of Hong Kong (2007: 168–85), does not differentiate between the Hong Kong Cantonese (i.e., in Chan's term, "Hongkong-speak") and the broader Cantonese used in other parts of Guangdong province. He does not appear to consider Hong Kong Cantonese as an independent linguistic and cultural entity. Nevertheless, he thinks that Hong Kong has always been

the centre and the pioneer of a Cantonese-led culture, which is "largely free of influences from the mainland" and "highly innovative and distinct" (174).

Simpson gives a concise account of how Cantonese came to dominate the everyday life of Hong Kong. He also explains how the Hong Kong Government's ruling on official languages in 1974 pre-empted attempts to make Cantonese an official, territorial language, although Cantonese maintained a highly dominant position among the population as a spoken form of language. See Simpson (2007: esp. 174–76).

8. See, for instance, Lee (1994: 11–23) and Brian Hok-shing Chan (2007).

9. Chan confesses that he listened to the Cantonese opera *The Legend of the Purple Hairpin* 紫釵記 (*Zichai ji)* when translating *Twelfth Night*. He believes in the versatility of the musical forms of Cantonese opera and its adaptability into many different performance forms, Eastern or Western. He further expresses the wish to retranslate *Twelfth Night* with a view to strengthening the song elements, so that the new version will be even closer to Cantonese opera (Chan 1997: 150; 2009).

10. The fusion of Eastern and Western dramatic elements in Cantonese opera and films reached a new height in the 1950s and 1960s when Hong Kong cinema produced Cantonese opera with Western garb and modern themes. The 1957 film *Xuangong yanshi* 璇宮艷史 [Romance in the jade palace] (official English title: *My Kingdom for a Husband*) is an archetypal example. Billed as a romantic musical comedy, it was based on an adaptation of *The Love Parade*, a 1929 Paramount musical directed by Ernst Lubitsch. While the Cantonese film opens with modern Western songs, it is essentially a Cantonese opera in modern dress and using a borrowed Western story. Given this combination, there was much room in the librettos and the dialogues to incorporate vernacular Cantonese slang expressions, English loanwords and so forth.

	Chinese Title	Original Title	Author	Premier Performance		
				Institution	Year	Director
1	《元宵》	*Twelfth Night*	William Shakespeare	Chung Ying Theatre	1986	Bernard Goss
2	《君子好逑》	*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*	William Shakespeare	Chung Ying Theatre	1990	Chris Johnson
3	《美人如玉劍如虹》	*Cyrano de Bergerac*	Edmond Rostand	Chung Tin Theatre	1990	James Mark
4	《烏龍鎮》	*Fools*	Neil Simon	Chung Tin Theatre	1992, 1993	James Mark
5	《上窮逼落下黃泉》	*Suicide*	Nicolai Erdman	Chung Ying Theatre	1992	Chris Johnson
6	《家庭作孽》	*A Small Family Business*	Alan Ayckbourn	Hong Kong Repertory Theatre	2004	Frederic Mao and Roy Szeto

Table 5.1a Rupert Chan's drama translations with settings relocated to China (1983–2007)

	Chinese Title	Original Title	Author	Premier Performance		
				Institution	Year	Director
1	《女大不中留》	*Hobson's Choice*	Harold Brighouse	Chung Ying Theatre	1986	Wong Mei-lan
2	《禧春酒店》	*L'hotel du libre exchange*	Georges Feydeau and Maurice Des Vallieres	Chung Ying Theatre	1987	Bernard Goss
3	《半句晚安》	*'Night, Mother*	Marsha Norman	Chung Tin Theatre	1987	James Mark
4	《木偶奇遇記》	*Pinocchio*	Brian Way	Chung Ying Theatre	1987	Chris Harris
5	《狐狸品》	*Volpone*	Ben Johnson	Chung Ying Theatre	1991	Chris Johnson
6	《科班落難喜逢春》	*Room Service*	John Murray and Alan Boretz	Shatin Theatre	1993	Dominic Cheung

7	《風流醫生手尾長》	*It Runs in the Family*	Ray Cooney	Chung Tin Theatre	1995	James Mark
8	《零時倒數》	*Towards Zero*	Agatha Christie	Chung Tin Theatre	1995	Dominic Cheung
9	《窈窕淑女》	*Pygmalion*	George Bernard Shaw	Springtime Production	1997	Ko Tin-lung
10	《飛越人間鎖》	*A Christmas Carol*	Charles Dickens	Chung Tin Theatre	1998	James Mark
11	《花樣獠牙》	*Little Shops of Horrors*	Howard Ashman	Chung Ying Theatre	2002	Lee Chun-chow

Table 5.1b Rupert Chan's drama translations with settings relocated to Hong Kong (1983–2007)

	Chinese Title	**Original Title**	**Author**	**Premier Performance**		
				Institution	**Year**	**Director**
1	《房間服務》	*Room Service*	John Murray and Alan Boretz	The Chinese University of Hong Kong	1983	Hardy Tsoi
2	《昆蟲世界》	*Insect Play*	Kapek Brothers	Chung Ying Theatre	1984	Bernard Goss
3	《驚險樂園》	*The Fantastic Fairground*	Bernard Goss	Chung Ying Theatre	1985	Bernard Goss
4	《屠魔者》	*Monster Man*	Bernard Goss	Chung Ying Theatre	1987	Lee Chun-chow
5	《仲夏夜之魘》	*A Midsummer Night's Dream*	William Shakespeare	Chung Ying Theatre	1988	Bernard Goss
6	《有酒今朝醉》	*Cabaret*	Joe Masteroff	Hong Kong Repertory Theatre	1988	Joanna Chan
7	《龍珠的童話》	*Dragon Pearl*	Clarissa Brown	Chung Ying Theatre	1988	Wong Mei-lan
8	《閒角春秋》	*Rosencrantz & Guildenstern Are Dead*	Tom Stoppard	Chung Ying Theatre	1989	Frederic Mao
9	《俏紅娘》	*The Matchmaker*	Thornton Wilder	Hong Kong Repertory Theatre	1989	Joanna Chan

10	《胡天胡帝》	*Ubu Roi*	Alfred Jarry	Hong Kong Repertory Theatre	1990	Frederic Mao
11	《備忘錄》	*Memorandum*	Vaclav Havel	Chung Ying Theatre	1990	Chris Johnson
12	《灰鯨》	*Whale*	David Homan	Chung Ying Theatre	1994	Christ Johnson
13	《造謠學堂》	*School of Scandal*	Richard Sheridan	Hong Kong Repertory Theatre	1996	Daniel Yang
14	《媾和性罷工》	*Lysistrata*	Aristophanes	Shatin Theatre	1998	Hardy Tsoi
15	《始皇最後的日子》	*The First Emperor's Last Days*	Tan Tarn How	Chung Ying Theatre	1998	Ko Tin-lung
16	《培爾金特》	*Peer Gynt*	Henrik Ibsen	Hong Kong Repertory Theatre	1999	Michael Bogdanov
17	《哈姆雷特》	*Hamlet*	William Shakespeare	Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts	2006	Tang Shu-wing
18	《相約星期二》	*Tuesday with Morries*	Mitch Albom	Chung Ying Theatre	2007	Ko Tin-lung
19	《死佬日記》	*In Defence of the Caveman*	Alex Ovechkin	Springtime Production	2008	Lee Wai-sum
20	《泰特斯》	*Titus Andronicus*	William Shakespeare	No Man's Land	2008	Tang Shu-wing
21	《大茶飯》	*Serious Money*	Carol Churchill	Hong Kong Academy of Performing Art	2008	Luk Hoi-kwong
22	《木蘭》	*Mulan*	Disney	Hong Kong Children Musical Theatre	2008	Bo JJ
23	《大癲世界》	*A Mad World, My Masters*	Thomas Middleton	Hong Kong Federation of Drama Societies	2008	Joey Leung and Jacob Yu

Table 5.1c Rupert Chan's drama translations with settings remained unchanged (1983–2007)

Lightly I toss my hat away,

Languidly over my arm let fall

The cloak that covers my bright array—

then out swords, and to work withal!

A Launcelot, in his Lady's hall …

A Spartacus, at the Hippodrome! …

I dally awhile with you, dear jackal,

Then, as I end the refrain, thrust home!

Where shall I skewer my peacock? … Nay,

Better for you to have shunned this brawl!—

Here, in the heart, thro' your ribbons gay?

—In the belly, under your silken shawl?

Hark, how the steel rings musical!

Mark how my point floats, light as the foam,

Ready to drive you back to the wall,

春意闌珊酒意濃 (*nung⁴*)
[Spring fades yet drinking mood grows stronger]

美人如玉劍如虹 (*hung⁴*)
[A beauty is like jade, and a sword is like a rainbow.]

輕舒猿臂懲鷹犬
[Gently stretch the ape-like arm to punish the hawkish dog.]

小試牛刀弄狗熊 (*hung⁴*)
[Try my bull knife to tease the hound-like bear.]

項伯項莊空舞劍
[Xiang Bo and Xiang Zhuang brandished their swords to no avail.]

鍾紳鍾縉枉爭鋒 (*fung¹*)
[Zhong Shen and Zhong Jun competed with each other in vain.]

龍泉飛舞龍吟和
[Dragon fountain dances and dragons sing in chorus.]

亂既終時爾亦終 (*jung¹*)
[When the chaos ends, so will you.]

紫電青霜映白虹 (*hung⁴*)
[Purple lightning and blue frost shone against the white rainbow.]

莫邪干將化游龍 (*lung⁴*)
[Mo Xie and Gan Jiang became dragons.]

解牛焉用疱丁技
[To carve a cow, you do not need Pao Ding's technique.]

屠狗何需朱亥功 (*gung¹*)
[To slaughter a dog, you do not need the kung-fu of Zhu Xuan.]

錯捋虎鬚應有悔
[You should regret for tugging at tiger whiskers wrongly.]

敢撩龍性實難容 (*yung⁴*)
[You should not be tolerated for teasing dragons.]

君誠有幸朝聞道
[One is fortunate to hear Dao in the

	morning.]
Then, as I end the refrain, thrust home!	亂既終時爾亦終 (*jung*[1])
	[When the chaos ends, so will you.]
Ho, for a rime! … You are white as whey—	詩興爭如酒興濃 (*nung*[4])
	[The mood for poetry is as strong as the mood for wine.]
You break, you cower, you cringe, you … crawl	葡萄先染錦袍紅 (*hung*[4])
	[The grapes dye the robe red.]
Tac!—and I parry your last essay:	左支、右絀、連連退
	[Charge in the left, withdraw in the right; you retreat again and again.]
So may the turn of a hand forestall	直砍、橫揮、步步攻 (*gung*[1])
	[Slash vertically, gash horizontally; you attack step by step.]
Life with its honey, death with its gall;	架隔遮攔攔不住
	[Partitions cannot block the assaults.]
So may the turn of my fancy roam	驚惶惱恨恨無窮 (*kung*[4])
	[What a shame that fear and remorse see no ends.]
Free, for a time, till the rimes recall,	荊軻悔未師勾踐
	[Jing Ke regretted not learning from Gou Jian.]
Then, as I end the refrain, thrust home!	亂既終時爾亦終 (*jung*[1])
	[When the chaos ends, so will you.]
Refrain:	亂曰：
	[Refrain:]
Prince! Pray God, that is Lord of all,	最是倉皇辭廟日
	[It will be most hasty and sad on the day you depart the temple.]
Pardon your soul, for your time has come!	酬詩送爾入溟濛 (*mung*[4])
	[The odes will accompany you into oblivion.]
Best—pass—fling you aslant, asprawl—	去冠、撒劍、朝天……跌
	[Toss your crown, hurl your sword, towards the sky … and you fall down.]
Then, as I end the refrain …	亂既終時——
	[When the chaos ends,]
—Thrust home!	——爾亦終 (*jung*[1])
	[so will you.]
(Act V; Hooker 1950)	(Rupert Chan 1990)

Table 5.2 Poems at the end of Act V, *Cyrano de Bergerac*

English Name	Characters' Background	Chinese Name (Underlined characters indicate family names)	Romanized Form in Cantonese	Word-for-word Back translation of Chinese name
***LADIES*—Floral imageries**				
Viola	A young lady of aristocratic birth.	石蕙蘭	*Sek⁶ Wai⁶-laan⁴*	Stone cymbidium
Olivia	A wealthy, beautiful, Ilyrian countess	萼綠華	*Ngok⁶ Luk⁶-wa⁴*	Calyx green-flower
***GENTLEMEN*—Related to magnificent buildings**				
Orsino	A powerful nobleman in the country of Illyria	賀省廬	*Hoh⁶ Saang²-lo⁴*	Celebrate province-manor
Sebastian	Viola's lost twin brother	石芭亭	*Sek⁶ Ba¹-ting⁴*	Stone Palm-pavillion
***COMIC CHARACTERS*—First names are Cantonese puns which hints of folly and stupidity**				
Sir Andrew Aguecheek	Sir Toby's protégé. A swollen head.	尉遲岸汐	*Wat¹ᵒ-chi⁴ Ngon⁶-jik⁶* [岸汐 puns on 戇直 *Ngong⁶-jik⁶* meaning "simpleton"]	(Surname of a minority race in Northern China) Shore-tide
Sir Toby	Olivia's uncle. A rowdy drunkard and glutton.	鮑菟聲	*Baao⁶ To⁵-pei⁴* [鮑菟聲 puns on 飽肚皮 *Baau² To⁵-pei⁴* meaning "a full belly"]	Abalone dodder-drum
Malvolio	The straitlaced head servant in Olivia's household.	茅福祿	*Maau⁴ Fuk¹ᵒ-luk⁶* [福祿 puns with 符碌 *foo⁶-luk¹ᵒ*, meaning "fluke"]	Hay fortune-prosperity
***SERVANTS*—Family names are omitted**				
Feste	The clown, or fool, of Olivia's household	吉慶	*Gat¹ᵒ-hing³*	Auspicious-celebration
Maria	Olivia's witty, wily serving woman	晚霞	*Maan⁴-ha⁴*	Sunset-splendor
***OTHER*—Related to their profession or situation**				
Antonio	A sea-captain who rescued Sebastian from a shipwreck	況東洋	*Fong³ Dung¹-yeung⁴*	View Eastern-ocean
Cesario	A young man disguised by Viola after the shipwreck	石沙鷗	*Sek⁶ Sa¹ᵒ-au¹*	Stone Sand-gull

Table 5.3 Characters' names and their Cantonese translations in *Lantern Festival*

Two characters:

To/	by
To^{5}	*pei*^{4}
菟	鼙

Ma/	ria
Maan^{4}	*ha*^{4}
晚	霞

Three characters:

O/	li/	via
Ngok^{6}	*luk*^{6}	*wa*^{4}
萼	綠	華

Or/	sin/	no
Hoh^{6}	*saang*^{2}	*lo*^{4}
賀	省	廬

Se/	bas/	tian
Sek^{6}	*ba*^{1}	*ting*^{4}
石	芭	亭

~	Vio/	la	
Sek^{6}	*wai*^{6}	*laan*^{4}	
石	蕙	蘭	[Note: Viola shares the same family name with her twin-brother Sebastian.]

Ce/	sar/	rio
Sek^{6}	*Sa*^{1o}	*au*^{1}
石	沙	鷗

Mal/	vo/	lio
Maau^{4}	*fuk*^{1o}	*luk*^{6}
茅	福	祿

An/	ton/	nio
Fong^{3}	*dung*^{1}	*yeung*^{4}
況	東	洋

Four characters

Ague/	cheek/	An/	drew
Wat^{1o}-	*chi*^{4}	*Ngon*^{6}	*jik*^{6}
尉	遲	岸	汐

Table 5.4 Characters' names and their Cantonese Romanisation in *Lantern Festival*

Chapter 6

SONS AND DRAGONS*

Death of a Salesman as a Cultural Icon

Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* is one of the most staged and best loved translated plays in Hong Kong. It was first introduced to the local audience by Chung King-fai in 1964. Since then, it has been mounted in Hong Kong eleven times. Second, *Salesman* is considered almost by consensus a classic of Western drama. It was among the first contemporary American plays to be staged in the territory and the most famous, if not the most familiar, to the Hong Kong audience. During interviews with local practitioners, many of them identified *Salesman* as the most popular foreign play without hesitation. Third, all of the productions in Hong Kong were invariably faithful renderings of the original play, in terms of setting, language and performance style. Dominic Cheung, who mounted *Salesman* on the Hong Kong stage in 1995, and Hardy Tsoi, who did so in 2006, both insisted that the play must be produced in its entirety, and that it could not and should not be changed. They were confident that the story of Willy Loman, the pitiful American salesman of the 1940s, would resonate with the present-day Hong Kong audience (Cheung 2009; Tsoi 2009). Fourth, the story of *Salesman*, as confirmed by the play's producers in newspaper coverage and

* All quotations from *Death of a Salesman* come from *Death of a Salesman: Text and Criticism*, ed. Gerald Weales (London: Penguin, 1996). All quotations from Dominic Cheung's *Death of a Salesman* come from a photocopy of the 1995 performance script (unpublished). All quotations from Gilbert C. F. Fong, Shelby K. Y. Chan and Hardy Tsoi's *Death of a Salesman* come from a photocopy of the 2006 director's script (unpublished). This writer owes her gratitude to Mr. Cheung and Mr. Tsoi for providing the scripts. All back translations from Chinese to English are done by this writer, unless otherwise stated.

interviews, is in many ways similar to the situation of Hong Kong, and its protagonist Willy Loman has become a local cultural icon.

The Salesman Motif

Salesmanship is the most important motif in the story of Willy Loman. Miller made it clear that what Willy is trying to sell is not the goods but himself—Willy Loman as a commodity:

> [The] salesman motif is in some great part metaphorical; we must sell ourselves, convince the world of a persona that perhaps we only wish we really possessed.
>
> (Miller 1984: 44)

Walter D. Moody, who wrote *Men Who Sell Things* (1909) at the turn of the twentieth century, expected a "know-it-all salesman" to understand that:

> Salesmanship does not consist of what you profess, but it consists of what you are, what you do, and how well you do it. When the doing follows the being, the result swells your sales, increases your chances of ultimate success.
>
> (Moody 1909: 370)

In the play, Charley solemnly observes that a salesman's life is a constant upward struggle to sell himself—he supports his dreams on his own ephemeral power, on "a smile and a shoeshine" (*Salesman*, Requiem, p. 138). As a salesman, Willy is "a man out there in the blue", with "no rock bottom to the life" (138). With no legacy handed down from his parents, Willy lacks connections not only with his birth family but also with that "which he deals as well as with the person with whom he deals." Such inadequacy prevents Willy from "possessing himself fully" (Clurman 1958: 213). Willy's father was a salesman as well, but according to Ben, he actually produced the flutes he sold and was at least successful. Unlike his father, Willy does not derive

personal satisfaction from the things he sells. Instead, his professional persona is the only thing that he has produced himself, but "it is only his commercial face with a commercial smile and a commercial aura of the well-liked, smoothly adjusted, oily cog in the machine of the sales apparatus" (Clurman 1958: 213). Endowed with neither business nor emotional resources, Willy lacks substantial, pragmatic role models and in turn fails to provide any for his sons. He substitutes an imitation of himself for the real man. Insisting that it is not a matter of what you do but "who you know and the smile on your face!" Willy optimistically locates the secret of success in "contacts" and "personal attractiveness", expecting that "a man can end with diamonds here on the basis of being liked!" (*Salesman*, Act 2, p. 86).

For the Hong Kong audience the salesman motif has been catchy and cutting. In the territory Willy Loman has been primarily received as a tragic hero. Chung King-fai was the first to introduce *Salesman* to Hong Kong in 1964. Chung identified Willy as the central figure of the play, and he also provided a definitive portrayal of Willy Loman: a lonely, struggling middle-aged salesman who cherishes the fervent hope of popularity, a big fortune and success for his sons. For all his foibles and weaknesses, Willy comes across to Hongkongers as a common man who refuses to lose faith in himself. Many later productions of *Salesman* in Hong Kong acknowledged Chung's influence, in terms of both interpretation of the story and performance style (Cheung 2009; Tsoi 2009). For example, the promotional posters of Hardy Tsoi's 2006 production featured the profile of a silver-haired Willy Loman (played by Luke Fung 馮祿德) in a business suit and with a big leather case in his hand. Against a whitewashed background, he is hunching his shoulders, looking down at his shadow on the ground. The tag line was 他一個人老遠在外面，憑的只是一張笑臉，和一雙擦得亮晶晶的皮鞋 (*Ta yige ren laoyuan zai waimian, pinde zhishi yizhang*

xiaolian, he yishuang chade liangjingjing de pixie), an imprecise Chinese translation of Charley's line in the Requiem: "He's a man way out there in the blue, riding on a smile and a shoeshine" (*Salesman*, Requiem, p. 138). The poster design underlined the central role of Willy Loman the salesman in the play, since he was the only figure on the poster. The bare, whitewashed background, the shadow and the tag line also served to accentuate his solitude and weariness, just like the Willy Loman in the poster of Chung's first production of the play in 1965.

Chung King-fai made Willy Loman a household name. As one of the best remembered parts in Chung's theatrical career, his Willy Loman attained a classic status that moved beyond theatre to the sociocultural level. In the one-man show *Man of La Tiger* 男人之虎 (*Nanren zhi hu*), Jim Chim 詹瑞文 (Zhan Ruiwen), a popular comedian and actor, staged a sketch about a hapless salesman which was an impersonation of Chung in *Salesman*. He poked fun at Chung's deep, rhythmical voice and slightly old-fashioned Cantonese accent. Through this parody of Willy Loman, Chim also aimed to expose, albeit in a mock-heroic way, the sense of rejection and desolation felt by some men in Hong Kong. The salesman image also gained currency in the political sector. During his election campaign in 2006, Donald Tsang 曾蔭權 (Zeng Yinquan), who succeeded in becoming the second Chief Executive of the HKSAR government later in the same year, compared himself to a "lonely salesman" and claimed that "selling" was the story of his life. He cited his earlier struggle as a travelling medicine salesman and vowed to fight an uphill battle for the good of the territory (see *Asia Times*, 2 June 2005). To Hongkongers Willy Loman is a resilient, hardworking and ambitious salesman who exudes a desperate want of recognition. He represents a kind of subjectivity which is sustained by the admiration of others. If people "buy" him, his sense of personal worth will flourish.

On the other hand, failure to sell is especially demoralising, because his self is the only commodity and reward he possesses.

Wishing Sons Were Dragons

Death of a Salesman, according to Miller, is "a love story between a man and his son, and in a crazy way between both of them and America" (1984: 19). Willy "has lived for his sons, will die for the son who was to extend his life" (Williams 1959: 319). Joseph A. Hynes states that Willy has two intimately intertwined needs: that Biff should return his father's love, and that Biff's love should take the particular shape of his accepting Willy's dream and of thereby vindicating Willy's whole life (1962: 287). As neither of these needs has been satisfied, Willy's last-ditch attempt is to fake a car accident and commit suicide, in order to get insurance money for Biff. His suicide is what Miller calls a "tragic victory" (1957: 166), which pitches the pathos of failure higher, up to the sociological level. John Gassner elaborates:

> Willy, who is otherwise so unimpressive, is translated into a father for whom the love and success of his favorite son Biff is a paramount necessity and a consuming passion. He has been made into a dramatically charged father-hero, and as such becomes a heroic figure in active pursuit of the father-son ideal.
>
> (Gassner 1954: 234)

Willy's death is "an exultation" and "an achievement of a very powerful piece of knowledge … that he is loved by his son and has been embraced by him and forgiven". His suicide, on the other hand, consummates his distorted idea of success, that "he can prove his existence only by "bestowing 'power' on his posterity, a power deriving from the sale of his last asset, himself, for the price of his insurance policy" (Miller 1984: 167). This is, ironically, the kind of fatherhood for which "he has always

striven and which until now he could not achieve" (167), and which he has cherished as a reason for his existence. Unfortunately, his final attempt to fulfil the demands of such fatherhood destroys his physical existence.

In the 1984 production in Beijing, Mi Tiezeng 米鐵增, the Chinese actor who played Happy, said that "one thing about the play that is very Chinese, is the way Willy tries to make his sons successful. The Chinese father always wants his sons to be 'dragons'" (Miller 1984: 7). Here he was referring to the Chinese idiom 望子成龍 (*wangzi cheng lon*g)—"wishing sons *were* dragons" (my emphasis). Dragon here is a figurative image, representing great success. The present writer uses the subjunctive to denote the improbability that this wish of Willy's will come true, and the fact that his wish does not come true at the end of the play. As with the Beijing audience, the idiom also serves to explain *Salesman*'s popularity with the Hong Kong audience.

Willy has lived on his hopes, sustained by the illusion that he has countless friends in his territory, that everything will be all right, that he is a success, and that his boys will be successful, too. This is Willy's version of the American Dream. His misfortune, or his failure to transform his sons into dragons, is chiefly the result of his misplaced expectations—misplaced on both things and people. As Raymond Williams puts it, Willy "has lived for his sons, will die for the son who was to extend his life, yet the sons, in their different ways, reject him, in one case for good reasons, and in effect destroy him" (1959: 319). Biff fails to come through his propitious youth into a realistically prosperous adulthood, because his father has failed to provide a concrete role model. It is unsure whether or how Willy wishes his son to succeed as an intelligent, down-to-earth adult. Willy has gone through life as "an eternal adolescent, as someone who has not dared to take stock, as someone who never knew who he was". His ideal for himself and for his sons is characterised by "an easy,

back-slapping, sports-loving, locker-room popularity" (Brown 1963: 208).

Willy believes wholeheartedly in what he considers the promise of the American Dream—that a "well-liked" man in business will indubitably and deservedly acquire the material comforts of modern American life. Oddly, his fixation with the superficial qualities of attractiveness and popularity is related to a whimsical ability to get away with theft and sloth. It is also at odds with a more gritty, more rewarding understanding of the American Dream that identifies hard work without complaint as the key to success. Although Willy condemns Biff as a "lazy bum" (*Salesman*, Act 1, p. 16) at the beginning of the play, he never encourages him to contribute genuine hard work.

Unfortunately, Willy's "dragon" model does not suit Biff at all. In order to escape the paternal tyranny, Biff takes refuge in kleptomania. He goes out West and unconsciously uses the discovery of his father's extramarital affair in the Boston hotel room as an excuse for his general waywardness. Willy refuses to face what should have been self-evident, that Biff cannot play the role that he desires for him. In the evening before Willy's suicide, Biff makes a blunt denunciation of his father's misguided expectations:

> BIFF: … Why am I trying to become what I don't want to be? What am I doing in an office, making a contemptuous, begging fool of myself, when all I want is out there, waiting for me the minute I say I know who I am! Why can't I say that, Willy? (*He tries to make Willy face him, but Willy pulls away and moves to the left.*)
>
> (*Salesman*, Act 2, p. 132)

He demands that Willy "take that phony dream and burn it before something happens" (*Salesman*, Act 2, p. 133). Willy's tragic death serves to wake Biff up even more from his father's American Dream: "He had the wrong dreams. All, all, wrong"

(138).

Willy's dragon alchemy misfires, but it has a certain poignancy for the Hong Kong audience. The theatre in the territory received and perceived *Salesman* positively. Willy is first of all received as a doting and well-meaning father, despite his misguided expectations and parenting approaches. Though imperfect, he becomes a sort of archetypal father figure to the Hong Kong audience. He is elevated to the status of an icon of the romantic hero who struggles through hardship and sacrifices himself for the well-being of his sons. If one takes into account the fact that he only wants his sons to be "dragons", Willy's intentions are noble, his delusions are inevitable, his flaws are excusable, and his frustration deserves sympathy. In particular, his anxiety about financial burdens and his craving for wealth are to a large extent driven by his dedication to his family and the desire for his sons to enjoy an affluent life. The *Salesman* producers in Hong Kong gave equal emphasis to Willy's money lust and his high expectations of the boys. Chung King-fai, as early as the late 1960s, wrote that *Salesman* is a story about a father who "wishes his sons were dragons" (Chung 1965). Expressing similar opinions, Dominic Cheung confessed he was in tears when he was translating *Salesman* in 1995, saying the story reminded him of his father's generation as well as his own (Wang Haiying 2008). Hardy Tsoi concurred with this view and wrote on the programme of his 2006 production that "'expecting one's sons to be dragons' has been deeply entrenched in the genetic code of Chinese culture for five thousand years" (my translation; Tsoi 2006). He also claimed that *Salesman* touched him deeply, since he was, like Willy, the father of two sons and had high expectations of them (Tsoi 2009). Zhang Jinping 張近平 (penname of Shum Wai-chung 岑偉宗), a theatre critic and song lyricist, opined that Willy's death represented a "ray of humanity" 人性的光輝 (*renxing de guangfei*),

"because he committed suicide for a better future for his sons" (Zhang 2007).

It is surprising that almost all directors and critics appeared to be of one mind about Willy Loman, and that they seem to identify personally with him. However, why would one ever associate oneself with a tragic failure? This has to do with the only partial reading of *Salesman* by Hong Kong theatre people. Willy's zeal for his sons' prosperity seemed to have overshadowed all other aspects of the story. It is thus not surprising that Willy's image gained currency and relevance in the Chinese-dominated Hong Kong society. "Wanting sons to be dragons" is a longstanding and deep-seated Chinese ambition. One may argue that parental expectations are universal, yet one cannot deny that Hong Kong parents place extremely heavy emphasis on the education of their children. They lavish money on their children's education and exert high pressure on the children to strive for academic excellence. Amy Chua, author of the book *Battle Hymns of the Tiger Mom* (2011), summarises the Chinese parenting style as follows: "The best way to protect their children is by preparing them for the future, letting them see what they're capable of, and arming them with skills, work habits and inner confidence that no one can ever take away" (Chua 2011). Some critics are of the opinion that this is a means of compensation by parents, in order to make up for the "bad" conditions the parents had when they were young and for the "bad" conditions they create for their children (e.g., divorce, spending too little time with them because of work commitments).

"Wishing sons were dragons" is a common theme in Hong Kong films and television drama. To quote a recent example: the Hong Kong film entitled *Echoes of the Rainbow* 歲月神偷 (*Suiyue shentou* [Time thief]; directed by Law Kai-yui 羅啓銳 and Cheung Yuen-ting 張婉婷, 2010) is an autobiography of the co-director Law, who

reflects fondly on his childhood in 1960s Hong Kong. His father was a shoemaker who could barely make ends meet. He and his wife saved every penny and the whole family led an extremely frugal life so that they could afford for their elder son to study at the Diocesan Boys' School, a prestigious private school. Law's nostalgia in the film is tinged with respect, gratitude and tenderness for the privations his parents suffered for the sake of their boys' education. As a small-budget production, the film reaped surprisingly high revenues at the box office and won several awards at the Hong Kong Film Academy Awards 2010. The popularity of and critical acclaim for the film help to prove that "wanting one's sons to be dragons" is indeed a very common theme in Hong Kong, and it has been passed continuously from generation to generation.

On the other hand, Willy's expectation that Biff will continue to pursue his father's ambition dream is also acceptable in Chinese societies like Hong Kong. The principle of "sons inheriting fathers' businesses" 子承父業 (*zi cheng fu ye*) is only logical in the Chinese psyche, and the burden is much heavier on sons than on daughters. The multibillionaire property magnate Li Kar-shing 李嘉誠 is said to have passed on his business to his sons, and to have put pressure on his daughters-in-law to give him grandsons in order to ensure male heirs to his business empire. Li Kar-shing is nicknamed "Superman Li" 李超人 (*Li chaoren*) by the media, while his two sons Roger and Richard are also nicknamed "Little Superman" 小超人 (*Xiao chaoren*) and "Little Little Superman" 小小超 (*Xiao xiao chao*). One may say that Li Kar-shing is similar to Willy Loman in that he shares his zeal for the continuation of family ambition. Similar to Willy's desire for Biff to become a super-salesman, Li Kar-shing's wish is for his sons to be property tycoons like himself. The only obvious difference is: one has succeeded, with high-flying results and enormous wealth, and

the other has failed, at the cost of his own life.

Death of a Salesman is considered as a melancholy tale of parenting in Hong Kong. Although the parenting styles of Willy Loman and most Hong Kong people are not exactly the same, the sense of self-sacrifice and the high expectations that parents have of their children are comparable. Willy's misguided attempts to train his sons to be "dragons", despite having somehow led Biff and Happy astray, are regarded with sympathy and nostalgia. The Hong Kong audience might see reflected in Willy's experience the hardships their own parents had in raising children and the pressure they now feel in bringing up their own children.

From Rags to Riches

Salesman is often hailed as Miller's indictment of the American Dream. In his autobiography *Timebends*, Miller recalled an outraged woman calling the play "a time-bomb under American capitalism" on its opening night. Miller points out the absurdity of Willy Loman's lifelong goal—Willy comes from the lower-middle class in Brooklyn, but he cherishes the hope that one day, by hook or by crook, he will be a famous and respected millionaire in New York. His quest for fame and fortune and his faith that one day he will acquire them are almost quixotic. This "from rags to riches" myth is the backbone of the American Dream. As Miller explained in an interview:

> The American idea is different in the sense that we think that if we could only touch it, and live by it, there's a natural order in favour of us; and that the object of a good life is to get connected with that life and abundant order.
>
> (Miller's words; Roudané 1985)

Ultimately, the American Dream is the belief that every American, whether young or

old, rich or poor, has the same opportunity to achieve success. In modern society this success is often judged by material possessions and monetary wealth. Everyone can go from rags to riches. The optimism, determination, lust for success and faith in self-realisation—these are the qualities of this "from rags to riches" myth that touch the psyche of Hong Kong people. In this sense, Willy's American Dream can be perceived as a refraction of the Hong Kong Dream.

Salesman is "a fervent query into the great American dream of success, as it strips to the core a castaway from the race for recognition and money" (Hawkins 1949: 202). To the Hong Kong audience, Willy Loman's story comes across as an unavailing pilgrimage to the world of affluence. He comes from a modest background, he aspires to become great through acquiring fame and fortune, he struggles, he fails, he refuses to give up hope, and he encourages his sons to carry on his ambitions. Despite his failure and eccentricity, Willy is a caricature of a common man who repudiates limitations and fights on. If he had been lucky, he might have made the great leap from privation to prosperity. It is pathetic that he is not smiled on by fortune and has ruined himself and his family. This is an image with which Hong Kong people might easily identify. Willy's thirst for fortune was aptly captured by Chung King-fai in his 1964 production, renamed *Taojin meng* 淘金夢. The title can be back-translated literally as "a dream of prospecting for gold". The title gives a softer touch than the straightforward translation *tuixiao yuan zhi si* 推銷員之死 [a salesman's death], which later productions, such as those of Dominic Cheung and Hardy Tsoi, adopted.

Not unlike America, Hong Kong has an unabashed reputation for hardcore materialism and freewheeling capitalism. "If money talks, Cantonese is its mother tongue," observed Rachel Wright (2007: 153), a British journalist who had worked in

Hong Kong for many years. The colonial rule and the impossibility of sovereign independence give a sense of transience to the territory. Hong Kong people cannot claim ownership of their home town. When they have no say over politics, wealth is something tangible to hold on to. Hong Kong people pride themselves on being *shiji* 實際, which refers to a kind of pragmatism that values actual work and material possessions (such as cash and real estate) and even borders on meanness. On the other hand, as a port city with few natural resources, Hong Kong is an economic miracle. It developed first into an *entrepôt* and later a financial hub in the Asia Pacific region. There are opportunities aplenty, so much so that there is a Cantonese saying that Hong Kong is "*piandi huangjin* 遍地黃金" [the land is fully covered with gold]--everyone may strike gold, just as in the American Dream.

The dream of going from rags to riches is also a common theme in the local cinema[1] and television. Liu Tianchi 劉天賜, a seasoned television scriptwriter and producer, says:

> Wang Jing 王晶 [a director and producer of many movie blockbusters], then a fresh university graduate and a talented scriptwriter [at the television station], pointed out the essence of a television serial: "A successful television serial should describe the process of fortune-making, as well as the process of falling from grace." Don't underestimate the currency of this sentence. During the process when one goes from having nothing to a mansion full of gold and jade, and from living in a house of banquets to a flat with nothing but empty walls, there are many great lessons to be learned and fascinating stories to be told. To go from rags to riches is the fantasy of the audience.
>
> (my translation; Liu 1993: 26)

It is obvious that *Salesman* contains elements of a Hong Kong television serial. The play's story is immediately familiar to a Hong Kong audience, who might feel that Willy's story is indeed similar to their own.

A Sense of Displacement

Miller says that if *Salesman* "managed to touch the Chinese heart and mind, perhaps it could prove that there is one humanity" (1984: 11). Whereas Tolstoy famously asserted in *Anna Karenina* that happy families are all alike, and each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way, Miller seems to beg to differ. In the preface to the fiftieth anniversary edition of *Death of a Salesman*, Miller points out that family plays a pivotal role in the universal appeal of the play:

> Having seen it in five or six countries, and directed it in China and Sweden, neither of whose languages I know, it was both mystifying and gratifying to note that people everywhere react pretty much the same in the same place of the play. … And what they were thinking turned out to be more or less what they were thinking in New York or London or Paris, namely that being human—a father, mother, son—is something most of us fail at most of the time, and a little mercy is eminently in order, given the societies we live in, which purport to be stable and sound as mountains when, in fact, they are all trembling in a fast wind, blowing mindlessly around the earth.
>
> (Miller 1999)

Here Miller pinpoints the transience and vulnerability of family as an institution. In an essay entitled "The Family in Modern Drama", Miller wrote: "We are all part of one another, all responsible to one another. The responsibility originates on the simplest level, our immediate kin. But this vital attachment is germinal and with the maturing of the person extends beyond its initial source" (Miller 1956: 36). As our playwright suggests in his autobiography, *Timebends*, if the struggle in *Death of a Salesman* is simply between father and son for recognition and forgiveness, it will diminish in importance. However, when the struggle extends itself out of the particular family circle and into the lives of each of us, it broaches the questions that trouble all of us: social status, social honour, recognition and success (Miller 1987: 176).

The innate drive of an individual to find safety and the surroundings of love, which is what makes home and family of central importance, are crucial to a person's sense of identity. As Miller asks, "How may a man make of the outside world a home?" (Miller's words; quoted in Jacobson 1975: 248). The question aptly summarises the plot of *Salesman*. Willy Loman, as well as his sons Biff and Happy, are individuals struggling to gain their "rightful" positions in their society (Miller 1949: 144). However, their attempts are doomed because they are "displaced", first from home and then from the society. They are "torn away from [their] chosen image of what or who [they] are in this world" (Miller 1949: 145).

Along this line we may understand how the situation of the Lomans is analogous to that of people in Hong Kong. We have presented the case that "wishing our sons were dragons" and "from rags to riches" are the two salient themes in the play that most appealed to the Hong Kong audience. Miller's notion of displacement is the link between these two themes, and which connects post-war suburban Brooklyn and modern-day Hong Kong. As discussed in Chapter 1, Hongkongers are homeless at home—they are "displaced" politically and culturally. For Willy the way to gain his "rightful" position is to become a rich and famous salesman. Willy has started low down and has failed to rise in the world. Unable to reach his ideal social position, he transfers his desire onto his son. He hopes that Biff will carry his ambition forward and become rich and famous. If Biff turned into a "dragon", the Loman family would benefit and, finally, be able to go "from rags to riches". The right position, from which Willy thinks that he has been displaced, can be assumed, if not in this generation then in the next.

The plights of displacement may be remedied with mobility. Both Willy and Biff long to move freely out into the world. They love being on the road. To the Hong

Kong people, such mobility can be made possible with wealth. If Willy could strike it rich, or if Willy had been born rich, the whole tragedy would be avoidable; and of course, with those "if"s, the plot would have to be changed. Wealth facilitates both social and physical mobility. The ability to thrive on modest beginnings would translate into a move up the social ladder, thus closer to the "rightful" position. Willy's failure to become rich and famous himself and to turn his sons into dragons means that they are trapped in the lower-middle class. On the other hand, there may be more than one "rightful" position. The Lomans suffer from a kind of claustrophobia because they are stuck in their unpleasant "home" and they are unable, in Miller's words, to "make of the outside world a home" (1956: 37). In this respect, Uncle Ben comes across as a success case. It is not his "personal attractiveness" that enables him to "make of the outside world a home". It is, instead, his disregard for the traditional concept of home. To describe him using a relatively recent term, he is a global citizen. The world is a home for him not because of human affection but because of his command of wealth and power. In other words, he has multiple homes, and his scope of home has been expanded. This is not unlike the emigration of Hongkongers. They move to foreign countries and establish new homes without abandoning the old ones. They commute relatively freely and go to where the advantages are, always looking for possible "rightful" positions. They refuse to be confined by an inadequate, original home. However, this geographical mobility, or the willingness and ability to emigrate, is for the most part afforded by wealth. With special attention paid to the money factor, the Hong Kong audience are brought to feel what Willy Loman feels, the play thus extends from the American dream to the Hong Kong dream. The Hong Kong actors and audience feel for Willy Loman, and his struggle becomes, vicariously, their struggle.

Why Did We Not Localise *Salesman*?

In 1983, *Death of a Salesman* was staged by the Beijing People's Arts Theatre 北京人民藝術劇院 (Beijing renmin yishu juyuan). The play script was translated by Ying Ruocheng 英若誠, a veteran stage actor and director, who also played Willy in the production. Miller went to Beijing to direct the play himself. Ying related having read the play to the company in 1978 but they rejected it, convinced that it would be incomprehensible. But in 1983 the situation was different:

> The elements of American society in it had no preparation in the public mind; nowadays everybody knows foreign films and TV and a great deal about how the West lives. We think even the liquid form of *Salesman* has also been prepared for in their minds now. They will be eager for it.
>
> (Ying's words; quoted in Miller 1984: 23)

However, before he went to China, Miller did worry about the reception of the story: "because it was more than thirty years since China had known even a rudimentary commercial civilization, how could I hope to create on stage the realities of a kind of life that had no existence in Chinese memories?" (vii) He went on to say,

> Salesmen are, or seemed to be, far more culture-bound. Willy Loman had sprung out of a world of business ambition, a society infected with the success fever; China was more than ninety percent peasant and most living Chinese had been taught proletarian socialist values, the very antithesis of those Willy strives for.
>
> (Miller 1984: viii)

Leon Slowecki, the American Cultural Attaché who spoke Chinese fluently, warned on the eve of the performance that "the Chinese audience will simply not understand *Death of a Salesman* without program notes that simplistically outline the story and how it is to be taken" (Slowecki's words; quoted in Miller 1984: 52). It turned out that certain ideas, living habits of characters and stage representations were not immediately comprehensible to the Beijing actors and audience in the early 1980s.

Miller observed that it was indeed a painfully uncertain process for the actors to "slip into not only alien characters but an exotic way of life of which they know next to nothing" (86). He pointed out, for instance, that "Willy is desperate, yet he owns a refrigerator, a car, his own house, and is willing to 'settle' for sixty dollars a *week*! And those were the fat dollars of decades ago" (original emphasis; 86). The actors also mentioned some difficulties for the audience at that time. For example, Ying, who also played Willy, was not sure if his audience would know what a travelling salesman was (Miller 1984: 14). Zhu Lin 朱琳, the Beijing Linda, wondered if the insurance plan would be understood, "especially about him dying for it" (Zhu Lin's words, Miller's translation; 15). Even the gas water heater was "completely exotic", and was "something that these Chinese have never even seen (and, indeed, has probably ceased to exist anymore in the States)" (19). Certain time-shift scenes also bewildered the Beijing audience. For instance, they were astonished at the appearance of Happy and Biff as children after they had just seen them as adults (232). In summary, the obstacles to the reception of *Salesman* stemmed mainly from the disparities in lifestyle and ideology between 1930s America and China in the 1980s, especially after close to 30 years of isolation as a result of the Cultural Revolution.

However, Miller did not give in and make plot amendments. In his book, Salesman *in Beijing*, Miller mentions no deliberate, obvious adaptation of the script to the Chinese context. He even laid down a rule for the performance: "The way to make this play most American is to make it most Chinese." He warned that the production could easily be a disaster should it be "approached in a spirit of cultural mimicry" (Miller 1984: 5), which would seem "distracting" and "in fact absurd" (64) to him. By eschewing cultural mimicry, Miller meant to avoid "Westernizing the

cast" in terms of costumes and the mannerisms of the actors. The principle was "trying not to imitate Americans but to play as Chinese doing an American work" (72). Actors "mustn't try to disguise themselves as Westerners" (65). Specifically he stated that "there will be no wigs" (5), "mouse-colored" or "platinum-blond" (72). "If a salesman can be ruined, as Charley says in the Requiem, by a couple of spots on his hat, a scraggly haircut would have sunk him without a trace" (73). It was his firm belief that as long as "you are emotionally true to your characters and the story, ... the cultural surface will somehow take care of itself" (5). He reiterated his opposition to Westernising the performance:

> [P]art of [the] urge to bring *Salesman* here, and to have me direct it, was to show an ambiguous situation on the stage, one in which the audience would find itself understanding and even sympathizing with a man who is not particularly "good," or moral. In short, to let the real world into Chinese art. And apart from my being able to lead them through the play better than a Chinese could, I think my being a foreigner is important as a signal that their isolation is, and should be over with.
>
> (Miller 1984: 65)

Miller was confident that *Salesman*, despite being "the quintessentially American play", should have "no problem being understood in every other culture" (vii). At the first preview, as Miller observes, the play might have been "penetrating" the audience, largely made up of uneducated workers who supplied the theatre's canteen with vegetables and meat (232–33). At the second preview, the audience was made up of editors, authors, artists, academics and theatre lovers, and they were "clearly attentive and deeply moved" (234). The opening was a success, at the end of which the audience "would never stop applauding" and "nobody left" (251).

As discussed in the previous section, the story of Willy Loman sounds immediately familiar to the local audience and adaptable to the Hong Kong stage. This gives rise to the question of why there have so far been no attempts to

domesticate *Salesman* in the Hong Kong theatre. All productions retained Miller's original plot and settings and the post-war Brooklyn household was re-actualised on the Hong Kong stage. Willy Loman remains an American although he speaks Cantonese. The *Salesman* productions in Hong Kong were largely untroubled by the cultural differences faced by the Beijing team in 1984. Most of the alienating markers of Westernness which were obvious to the Beijing audience, such as insurance, refrigerators, travelling salesman, were commonplace in Hong Kong. Nor did Dominic Cheung's 1995 production[2] or Hardy Tsoi's 2006 production make any attempts to localise the story or to Westernise the cast. The background of 1930s America was retained. The writer of this thesis cooperated with Gilbert C. F. Fong in translating *Salesman* into Cantonese for Tsoi's production. Tsoi also translated the scene at Frank's Chop House himself. He gave no guidelines for the translation and indicated no need for stylistic changes. Fong and this writer decided, right from the beginning of the translation process, that we would translate the play script faithfully. We made no attempt to domesticate the play. We tried our best to render the dialogues in contemporary Cantonese, reproducing the rhythm and the tone of Miller's original, especially the Lomans' emphatic, repetitive diction ("Maybe it's your glasses. You never went for your new glasses"; "I'm the New England man. I'm vital in New England"), and paying special attention to the flows up to the peaks and the slopes down towards the silences. The translated dialogues were not significantly altered in the actual performances, and they did not sound jarring to the ear. We also had no great difficulty in representing the content and ideas of the original play. The actors did not wear wigs, although they did wear make-up to highlight their noses and cheekbones, so that they would look older and sharper, but not Westernised, on stage. The production was not "cultural mimicry" in Miller's sense.

When studying *Salesman* and relevant materials again for this research, with the distance of time and in the different role, this writer acquires a slightly different consciousness of the play–the sociocultural proximity of Hong Kong to Willy Loman's world; and from that, the possible ease of adapting *Salesman* to the Hong Kong context. One could relocate the Lomans in Hong Kong without much difficulty, and the few markers of foreignness could be easily removed or replaced.[3] The question is why we did not do so when we could. We would not deny that rendering *Salesman* in its entirety was designed to express our respect for Miller's canonical play and our faith in the play's proven poignancy. And we believed that minor sociocultural unfamiliarity would not temper the audience's comprehension and enjoyment of the performance. Now, with the benefit of hindsight, the writer would like to propose that our insistence on *not* adapting and *not* Westernising in fact represents a particular approach to theatre translation and identity construction.

It would be constructive to compare our strategy with that of The Seals Players. As discussed in Chapter 3, The Seals Players tended to Westernise their productions, aligning themselves with the West theatrically, culturally and ideologically. They were what Miller called "cultural mimicry"—they acted as though they were the West. Cheung and Tsoi were different. In their productions, they retained Western elements but did not deliberately highlight them. While they claimed that this fidelity was a tribute to the universality of Miller's masterpiece, they were also underscoring the fact that there were certain ideas shared between the local and the foreign, and projected them onto the American play. To illustrate this point further, we may draw upon Miller's explanation of how *Salesman* endeared itself to the Beijing audience:

> Our whole objective has been to unearth our common images and analogous—if

> superficially different—histories. If they are making the Lomans intimately comprehensible to their fellow Chinese it is because they have found the Lomans in themselves. This was why I did not want to wig the play, making it an exotic experience rather than a personal one for them; the people were not to sit in the theatre admiring or "distancing" themselves from a bizarre set of humanlike figures from some exotic Brooklyn, but to absorb the play as closely as possible as a life experience that would enlarge their experience of the world.
>
> (Miller 1984: 249)

"Common images" and "analogous histories" are important, and are what enable the play to cross cultures without "wigging". It is not necessary to domesticate *Salesman* or for the Chinese actors to Westernise. Miller suggests that it is the task of the director (with Beijing's *Salesman*, it was Miller himself) to "unearth" the similarities through which the audience will be able to understand the play and sympathise with the characters and their actions. Ultimately the audience will be able to acquire an understanding of the Self through the vicarious experience of viewing the representation of the Other. In the Beijing production, Miller was both the playwright and the director. When he said the performance was to be made "intimately comprehensible" to the Beijing audience, he was expressing his belief in the universality of the family theme of *Salesman*. At the same time, his double role allowed him the discretion to shape the interpretation by the actors and thus that of the audience. Although he says he intended the *Salesman* performance to be an "exotic experience", he remained aware of the distance between the world of Willy Loman and the world of the Beijing audience; he was trying to find a connection point at which the two worlds would converge. He deliberately kept the Western elements in the play, yet he was careful to ensure that the distance between the West represented in the performance and the East where the Beijing audience was situated was not so overwhelming that the audience would find the performance "bizarre" or alienating. For the Beijing actors and audience, the aspects of Self refracted in Miller's

Salesman, however accurate they might be, were still somehow manipulated by a Western Other.

In the Hong Kong *Salesman*s, the idea of Other is not immediately associated with things foreign, "exotic" or "bizarre", and furthermore that association does not necessarily imply *ours*. The distance between the world of Willy Loman and the world of modern-day Hong Kong was retained and made apparent. The audience could be expected to find the two worlds strikingly similar in terms of both lifestyle and ideology, as did the directors themselves, but at the same time these two worlds are discernibly different. The purpose is neither to immerse oneself in nor to identify with the West represented by the play. The Other should be presented as it is (or as it is perceived to be), so similarities between the Self and the Other are made apparent. Such similarities are the lenses through which the Hong Kong producers and audience come to understand *Salesman*. While the maintenance of this distance between audience and play–a distance which can, however, vary a great deal from one person to another–was a nod to the universality of Miller's masterpiece, the Hong Kong productions specified the angles from which to perceive such universality. Where Miller (1999) claims the notion of home was the key to the cross-cultural appeal of *Salesman*, the Hong Kong productions pinpoint two particular aspects of home that endeared the Loman household to the territory: the desire for fortune and the desire for sons to be dragons. At the same time, the distance itself would provide room for reinforcement of aspects of the Self. As Hongkongers, Cheung and Tsoi provided their own interpretations—they derived particular ideas about the play from their own readings of it, and then proceeded to transmit their interpretations to the audience. Their interpretations of the Other were indeed expressions of the Self. The connections between the world of the Lomans

and their own world were also constructed by themselves. Where Willy Loman comes across as a doting, struggling father, the local people would unwittingly project their own images of the father figure onto the Brooklyn salesman. The paradox of making an "exotic" world familiar is important for identity construction. On the one hand, the identity traits of the Self are detected and affirmed through the Other. Certain identity traits may not be immediately obvious to the Self, but they are made discernible by the foreign play. The distance may bring about "reverse universality". In addition, when certain identity traits of the Self are found in the Other, they are doubly asserted, first by the Self and then by the Other. When the Hong Kong audience saw Willy Loman pining for an escape from poverty and mediocrity, as well as for the success of his sons, they would think that Chinese fathers tend to have similar sentiments to Western fathers. In the case of The Seals Players, narratives of universality are often presented in a top-down and outward-spinning manner. Suppose there is a certain personality trait that is shared across different cultures and people, then, in the eyes of The Seals Players, if the foreigners have a particular trait, so do Hongkongers. For these Hongkongers, this shared trait becomes a membership card of a somewhat Occidentalistic universe, whereby the Self is affiliated to the universality, and the Self's identity is strengthened by its similarity to the Other. For Cheung's and Tsoi's *Salesman*, the direction of universality is reversed. Hong Kong people may read a particular personality trait of their own into the foreign characters, on the grounds that Hongkongers consider *they* are like *us*, and further establish that this trait is universal. Such discovery of universality is self-centric, bottom-up and inward-spinning. The universality is defined by and aligned with the Self. Self-identity is reinforced through the discovery of how the Other is similar to the Self.

Suppose *Salesman* were thoroughly domesticated (which involves "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target language cultural values") or foreignised (which entails "an ethnodeviant pressure on [target-language cultural] values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad") (Venuti 1995: 20)–in either case, aspects of the local or the foreign, respectively, might be affirmed and strengthened, yet often at the expense of overshadowing the Other. The sense of distance between Willy Loman's world and the local world would be eliminated. In fact, the Hong Kong versions of *Salesman* refuse to be classified under categories of pure domestication or pure foreignisation. The Hong Kong *Salesman*s suggested a different method of identity construction. While foreign elements such as the 1930s American lifestyle were kept, the *Salesman* translations did strive to make the language fluent and to a large extent colloquial. The clash between the two translation approaches creates overlapping areas, where the local identity may grow like a caterpillar on mulberry leaves, seeking nutrients for a possible, eventual metamorphosis. In that case, one may say a foreign Willy Loman is posited under a domesticating gaze. While Willy remains American, he is regarded according to a set of Hong Kong values. Where Miller believes *Salesman* struck a chord in many hearts by its reflections on the family, the Hong Kong productions qualified the concept of family through *Salesman*. This is how Willy Loman has come to be owned by Hong Kong culture, as an adopted icon that recurs in theatre, television and even in a politician's speech.

Death of a Salesman comes across in Hong Kong like a model flat to those people who find it difficult to describe their home. Seeing *Salesman*, one may be prompted to say: "My home is just like that!" This is not to suggest that modern-day Hong Kong is exactly the same as 1930s America, or that the Loman family is an ideal household

to Hongkongers, but rather that some aspects of the play closely parallel particular features of the Hong Kong identity. As Miller (1999) observes, "people everywhere react pretty much the same in the same place of the play". In the *Salesman* performance in Beijing in 1984, the actors aptly pointed out that it is a common wish among Chinese fathers for sons to become high-flying "dragons". Despite Miller's reputation in world theatre, there have been few significant stage performances of *Salesman* since 1984. In Hong Kong, where the play has been staged eleven times, the character of Willy Loman has been adopted into the popular culture as the icon of a struggling breadwinner and a doting father. The relatively wealthier and more Westernised capitalistic society of Hong Kong undoubtedly helps the reception of the play, making Willy's situation readily familiar to the local audience. While this in fact reflects certain aspects of Hong Kong identity—Westernised, materialistic, sympathetic to capitalism, the socioeconomic context also conditions Hongkongers' interpretation of *Salesman*. Willy Loman comes across not only as a father who wants his sons to be "dragons", but also as a common man whose dream of "gold-mining" has fallen through, and as a deflated middle-aged man who feels displaced from his desired "home". Having failed to become a "dragon" himself, he pins his hopes on his sons becoming "dragons". This is why Willy Loman the protagonist is especially poignant to the Hong Kong audience and why his image has been repeatedly adapted in works of popular culture. It appears that Hong Kong society has embraced *Salesman* in its own way and welcomes Willy Loman as a spokesman for the life and aspirations of Hongkongers.

NOTES

1. The money craze is one of the popular themes in the Hong Kong cinema. In the 1980s slapstick comedy was all the rage and achieved many box-office victories. Almost every Lunar New Year saw the showing of "feel-good" films known as "new year celebration films" 賀歲片 (*hesui pian*). The plot was often corny, making fun of lower class people who suddenly become rich, usually through lotteries or inheritances from distant relatives. The production was shoddy, and despite an all-star cast, the acting was rough and farcical. Yet the production flaws did not diminish their blockbuster lustre. What the audience expected most from these films were simple laughter and an upbeat feeling. A classic example of these "new year celebration films" would be the series of *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad World* 富貴逼人 (*Fugui biren*; literally meaning "riches thrust upon you") (1987), directed by Clifton Ko 高志森. The comedy was very popular and most of the cast reappeared in its sequels *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad World II* 富貴再逼人 (*Fugui zai biren*; "riches thrust upon you again") (1988), *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad World III* 富貴再三逼人 (*Fugui zaisan biren*; "riches thrust upon you again and again") (1989) and *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad World Too* 富貴黃金屋 (*Fugui huangjin wu*; "the golden house of riches") (1992). The English film title was borrowed from a 1963 American comedy film directed by Stanley Kramer about the madcap pursuit of $350,000 in stolen cash by a diverse and colourful group of strangers. The Hong Kong versions worked on a similar theme of easy money. The *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad World* series describes the rollercoaster adventures of the Lui family living on a public housing estate in Shatin, New Territories. One day they win the Mark Six lottery. Then they are kidnapped and have to use the lucky money to pay the ransom. To start a new life they emigrate to Canada, fail to adapt to the new country and return to Hong Kong. Frustrated, they find that they have hit the jackpot in Canada and become rich again. The four films together formed a circular "rags-to-riches" plot structure. The ideology of the series represents a Hong Kong-styled optimism about the fortunes of life, which is a combination of perpetual craving for wealth and resilience against adversity.

2. At the time of this research, there was no video of Dominic Cheung's *Salesman* production available to this writer, and, regrettably, the writer did not attend the performance in 1995. Luckily, the writer was able to read Cheung's translated rehearsal script and interview Cheung about the performance (24 December 2009, Hong Kong); my interpretation of Cheung's production is based mainly on these two sources. The writer would like to acknowledge Mr. Cheung's kind assistance.

3. There were a few references to the Jewish diet and American football that might not be at once familiar to the Hong Kong audience. For example, "I got a new kind of American-type cheese today. It's whipped." "Why do you get American when I like

Swiss?" "How can they whip cheese?" (*Salesman*, Act 1, p. 17–18) is a particularly Jewish-American idiom. Fong and this writer translated the remarks about cheese literally. Hongkongers might not be familiar with the specific varieties of cheese, but they should be aware of differences between American cheese and Swiss cheese, and thus of Willy's subtle resistance to change. And in Act 2, when Willy and his sons are eagerly awaiting Biff's football game, Biff tells his father:

> BIFF: I got it, Pop. And remember, pal, when I take off my helmet, that touchdown is for you.
>
> (*Salesman*, Act 2, p. 88)
>
> BIFF: 放心啦，老竇，陣間我一除頭盔，嗰分就係我爲你攞□喇，唔好眨眼呀。
>
> (Fong, Chan, and Tsoi 2006)
>
> [Don't worry, Dad. Later when I take off my helmet, I will score the point for you. Don't blink.]

Few people in Hong Kong are fans of American football, and the audience may not understand what a touchdown is, let alone the importance of the helmet to an American football player. Here "touchdown" was translated literally as "scoring the point". In the translation we added a line for Biff, who asks Willy not to "blink", to mark the importance of the touchdown.

Chapter 7

IDENTITY AND MOBILITY*

Move Over, Mrs. Markham! and *Pygmalion*

Identity mobility has been a popular theme in the translated theatre of Hong Kong since the 1980s. In addition to *Twelfth Night*, which we have discussed in Chapter 5, titles such as *A Servant of Two Masters*, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, *Noises Off*, *Spring Fever Hotel*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Run for Your Wife*, *A Flea in Her Ear*, *Room Service*, *An Absolute Turkey* and *Whose Wife Is It Anyway?* were frequently staged and widely loved by the local audience. Among these plays, two titles particularly caught the imagination of the Hong Kong audience, namely Ray Cooney and John Chapman's *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* and George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*.

Move Over, Mrs. Markham!

Move Over, Mrs. Markham! is a bedroom farce written by Ray Cooney and John Chapman. The play was first produced in Westcliff, Essex in 1969 and was published in book form in 1972. In 1993 Szeto Wai-kin 司徒偉健 [Situ Weijian] translated the

* All quotations from *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* come from Ray Cooney and John Chapman's *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* (London: Warner Chappell Plays Ltd, 1995). All quotations from Szeto Wai-kin's *Naughty Couple* come from a photocopy of the 1993 handwritten performance script (unpublished). All quotations from Szeto Wai-kin's *Naughty Couple* come from a scanned copy of the 1993 typewritten performance script (unpublished). All quotations from *Pygmalion* come from George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion and Three Other Plays* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004). All quotations from Rupert Chan's *Lovely Is This Noble Lady c*omes from a photocopy of the 1997 handwritten performance script (unpublished). This writer owes her gratitude to Mr. Szeto, Mr. Chan and Mr. Dominic Cheung for providing the scripts. All back-translations from Chinese to English are done by this writer, unless otherwise stated.

British farce into Cantonese. He shifted the background of the play from London in the late 1960s to Hong Kong in the 1990s, and retitled his adaptation *Naughty Couple.* (The Chinese title is 撞板風流*Zhuangban fengliu* [Disastrous romance]). *Naughty Couple* was put on stage by Chung Tin Productions 中天製作 five times within two years from 1993 to 1995. In 1994 a namesake film was produced on the basis of the Cantonese stage version. It ran in the Hong Kong theatre for 21 days (6–26 October 1994) and reaped HK$4,073,290 at the box office (HKMDB n.d.). The film largely adopted the plot, the cast and the dialogues of the stage version (Cheung 2010).[1]

Szeto Wai-kin stands out among other theatre translators in Hong Kong for his distinctive, consistent penchant for comedy, as well as his insistence on a thorough localisation approach. Unlike other translators, such as Rupert Chan, Jane Lai and Dominic Cheung, he lays no claims to "serious" or "highbrow"[2] theatre. What his repertoire lacks in literary classics and dramatic canons, e.g., works by Shakespeare, Arthur Miller and Sophocles, it makes up for in popular appeal, farces and light-hearted comedies. In an interview with the writer (Szeto 2009),[3] Szeto said that he enjoys translating, rehearsing, directing and sometimes performing in comedies. He believes that the audience goes to the theatre to be entertained, and in order for theatre to be entertaining, immediate comprehension by the audience and interaction with the audience are necessary. In his view, laughter and applause are the most reliable indicators of audience reception. The success of a comedic performance may be judged by the laughter and applause of the audience, and that poses challenges to translators, directors and actors. He is sceptical about the kind of theatre that bewilders audiences and claims to make them "think". He maintains that audiences can also be intellectually "inspired" by comedies, but that they should first be able to understand the performance as it is going on. Szeto chooses plays that interest him

and the audience, rather than plays that are "famous" or of "high academic value". He often finds light-hearted comedies about city life (such as those by Neil Simon and Ray Cooney) easier to translate and to stage because they are closer to the everyday life of himself, the actors and the audience. This sense of affinity is explained, in part, by Aaltonen (2000: 13), who maintains that, "the choice of texts for translation is most frequently motivated by a perception of the existence of some common ground in how the audience perceives reality and how they relate to it." This would, in turn, explain Szeto's intensive localisation strategy, through which he tries to imbue the performance with a deeper sense of Hong Kong life.

English farce during the 1960s, in particular, was a "far more sweetened and softened product than its French counterpart" (Gay 2008: 117), concerning itself with "domesticity", which means "trivia at home, hearth, daily living" (Booth 1980: 124). It is a genre which includes "charm, sentiment, and a sense of fun, all expressed in the proper moral spirit", and the purpose is to "amuse in a jolly and properly moral way, to cast a friendly, a vincular eye on the minor vicissitudes of home and family" (Booth 1980: 124). The basic structure of the genre is made up of synthetic elements such as a sympathetic hero(ine) struggling against adversity or dilemma throughout the play. Characters only exist when in conflict with situations, and they are defined by their reactions to the frantic evolution of events. The impact on the audience depends on "the actors' choreographic movements on the stage and on their interaction with the audience" (Gay 2008: 120). One may describe this genre as "home-oriented", in terms of content, language and the actors' body movements, all of which should have intimate connections with the audience, or the humour is lost. In other words, for this genre to succeed in the theatre, theatre producers, including the translator, should be able to bring everything in the play close to home for the

audience. This "homely" nature of the genre, while attracting Szeto with its potential to engage and endear the audience, also propelled him into adopting a thorough localised translation strategy.

Move Over, Mrs. Markham! has been viewed rather unfavourably by critics, although its co-author Ray Cooney is known as "Le Feydeau anglais" and "the master of farce in his native England" (Lawrence 2010). While the play's tight comic structure manages to bring together a series of topsy-turvy events in a compressible order that may be challenging for adaptors and directors, *Move Over* "falls short of digestible theater", as it "lacks the literary finesse of Neil Simon's *The Last of the Red Hot Lovers*, the historical cachet of Carlo Goldoni's *The Servant of Two Masters*, the clever innovations of Michael Frayn's *Noises Off*, or the measured momentum of Georges Feydeau's *A Flea in Her Ear*" (Begelman 2010). First staged in 1969, *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* has "all the signs of dated sensibility" (Begelman 2010). The plot is "overly familiar", as if "following a standard design of comedic farce" (Chisholm 2005). The supposedly preposterous unexpected events are repetitive if not mechanical. One critic commented on a performance in Baltimore that "the story took too long to unravel, and the comedy was shouted away in heated, tense arguments; double entendres, repeated three times, weren't funny anymore" (Yun 2003). In Szeto's case, however, the flaws in the original text and the overall dearth of academic interest shown in the play appear to have freed him from the obligation to translate faithfully. As a result, he took the liberty of revamping the play and its dialogues with reference to the popular culture of Hong Kong.

Naughty Couple

If we group Richard Ho's *Hamlet*, Rupert Chan's *Twelfth Night* and *Naughty Couple* under the umbrella of "localisation", we may detect a gradual narrowing-down of the scope of their respective definitions of what is meant by "local". The term "local" refers to the dimensions of time and place. The local in Ho's *Hamlet* is an ancient cultural China—the story's background is changed to the Lingnan region of Guangdong Province in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period, and the dialogues are written in a formal, archaic Chinese, which is distant from the Cantonese spoken in everyday Hong Kong. The translation attempts to appeal to the Hong Kong audience through their affinity with Chinese literature and culture. It does not exactly speak of contemporary Hong Kong at the time of performance. What Chan's *Twelfth Night* shows us is a Chinese Hong Kong, or if you will, a Hongkong-ish China. While the story background is likewise set in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period, the dialogue comes across simultaneously as a *patois* reminiscent of Tang poetry, the librettos of Cantonese opera, Hong Kong films from the 1940s to 1960s, and wordplays of modern-day Hong Kong. Chan's *Twelfth Night* presents a localised Shakespeare as much as it presents a "Hongkong-ised" China. In this sense, the translation is Hong Kong-oriented, as Shakespeare and China were both adjusted to the taste and everyday life of Hong Kong. It is neither wholly Shakespearean nor wholly traditional Chinese; it stands somewhere between the two. In *Naughty Couple* Szeto Wai-kin presents a picture of the here-and-now Hong Kong, where the story's background and the dialogues are based. The translation aims to synchronise the setting of an originally 1969 English play with the contemporary context of Hong Kong.

Szeto's localisation strategy, similar to those used in many localised dramas, is

manifest in a set of replacements of setting, names and sociocultural references which are familiar to the Hong Kong audience. In *Naughty Couple*, Szeto took a bold step further. He disregarded the fidelity principle of translation and created a Cantonese version which adopts merely the skeleton of the English plot. For instance, while Rupert Chan's translations of Shakespearean drama closely follow the original lines, Szeto did not translate Cooney and Chapman's play script line by line. Instead, he took the basic ideas of the English original and rewrote them. The Cantonese lines and the English ones are starkly different in syntax and sentence order. Rupert Chan's stage translations are also considered adaptations, but he does follow the original order and he does retain most of the meaning chunks.

One of the remarkable localisation features in *Naughty Couple* is the abundance of bawdy jokes. A bedroom farce such as *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* provides a good background for sexual innuendo. Szeto makes a point of inventing ribald titles for children's books in *Naughty Couple*. For example, Ma Kam-hang 馬錦恆 (Philip Markham in *Move Over*)[4] complains that the only book Henry (Henry Lodge) introduced to the press is *Adventures of a Little Worm* 小毛蟲奇遇記 (*Xiao maocong qiyüji*). Yet the little worm has such a big bust that it resembles Hong Kong film star Amy Ip葉子楣 (Ye Ziwei), so that young girls who read the book would feel ashamed of themselves because theirs were not as big. Ma derides the idea that the book should be retitled *Escapades of a Horny Worm* 小咸蟲遇險記 (*Xiao xiancong yuxianji*) (Act 1; Szeto 1993: 18). Similarly, Henry claims he is going to meet "the tortoise author" (Act 1; Cooney and Chapman 1972: 45). In Szeto's version, the title of the tortoise book is translated as *Adventures of a Male Tortoise* 龜公歷險記 (*Guigong lixianji*): in Cantonese, a male tortoise is a euphemism for a pimp. Another example is the name of Henry's one-night stand partner Chow Yuk Ling周玉玲 (Felicity Jane

Wilkinson), which is made up of characters taken from three famous Hong Kong actresses. In her first telephone conversation with Henry prior to their actual meeting, she flirts with him and claims to have a face like Vivian Chow's 周慧敏 (Zhou Weimin), a body like Veronica Yip's 葉玉卿 (Ye Yuxing) and a bottom like Carina Lau's 劉嘉玲 (Liu Jialing). These bawdy jokes carry meanings that go beyond the linguistic level. First, these jokes allude to contemporary popular culture in Hong Kong, aligning the context of the story to the everyday life of the audience. Furthermore, the common Hong Kong audience has a penchant for sexual innuendoes which are "funny without being lewd" (樂而不淫 *le er bu yin*) and "innocuous" (無傷大雅 *wu shang da ya*) (Rupert Chan 2009; Szeto Wai-kin 2009). The mild and naughty humour serves to create a kind of rapport with the audience similar to the effect of topical jokes. Intertextual knowledge is the key to when and why to laugh This is probably why Szeto, as quoted earlier in this chapter, considers laughter to be an indicator of audience reception and therefore of the eloquence of the translation.

Naughty Couple is adapted from *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* but almost all traces of the original text have been erased, so much so that the adaptation could be mistaken for a script originally written in Cantonese. Confusion of identity occurs not only among the characters in the play, but also among the audience, who might wonder about the deceptive identity of the play script—while the programme states that the production was a translated play, the performance speaks strongly of the local.

Identity shuffle

Move Over, Mrs. Markham! is filled with incidents involving mistaken identity, titillating situations and risqué remarks. The very tangled web starts being woven when Linda Lodge asks Joanna if she can use the Markhams' apartment for a tryst while Joanna and her husband, publisher Philip Markham, go out for the evening to celebrate their 15th wedding anniversary. At the same time, Linda's philandering husband, Henry, is asking Philip the same favour to please his new date, Felicity Wilkinson. It seems that neither wants to be caught in a hotel with someone other than his or her spouse. Meanwhile, Mrs. Markham's interior decorator, Alistair Spenlow, is planning to consummate his relationship with the German au pair Sylvie that very evening. Thus, all three couples are expecting their own romp in the hay—on the same bed at the same time of the evening. Needless to say, all these secret rendezvous create a sort of traffic jam in the Markham bedroom, as the characters all try to provide various types of cover for their friends. As the result of a hint by Henry, Philip begins to think Joanna is cheating on him with Alistair, whom he thinks is gay. Alistair gets the impression that Philip is not so straight himself. The situation is further complicated by the arrival of Olive Harriet Smythe, a strait-laced authoress of children's books. This is what gives rise to the need to hide and swap identities. Miss Smythe writes the Bow-wow Books for children, which have proved to be a money-spinner. She wants to explore publishing possibilities with Markham's company because "her old publishers have gone in for pornography" (Act 2; Cooney and Chapman 1972: 84). A prim and proper spinster, she would be appalled by the depravity and promiscuity brewing in the Markham bedroom. Therefore, Joanna and Philip try their utmost to hide the amorous goings-on and, at the same time, sign up Miss Smythe. The series of role-plays constitutes a kind of a plot within the plot.

Szeto's play script follows the imbroglio of *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* Ivy (Joanna Markham), wife of the nerdy co-publisher Ma Kam-hang (Philip Markham), is the mastermind behind the role-plays. She is supposed to be clear-headed and to coordinate the others in assuming new identities on the spot. Behind her somewhat Machiavellian plot are two purposes, both of which are spontaneous and circumstantial expediencies. One is to stir up jealousy in her husband and stimulate him into providing her with a passionate love life, the other is to secure the confidence of and ultimately the book contract with Pak Oi-sum (Olive Harriet Smythe) to save her husband's insolvent publishing house. The identity-shuffle starts with Porka Si (Alistair Spenlow), who at one point in the play has three identities. In the opening scenes Porka Si is working for the Ma family as their interior designer, his genuine professional identity. In the next scene, when a misplaced letter misleads Ma Kam-hang into thinking his repressed and sexually inhibited wife is having an affair with the decorator, Porka Si, upon Ivy's request, pretends to be her extramarital lover. While Ivy hopes to irritate her husband, Porka Si intends to avenge Ma's disparagement of himself and his design and anticipates sexual and pecuniary favours from Ivy. Pak Oi-sum, the best-selling, publisher-switching and frigid writer, turns up and takes it for granted that the pyjama-clad Porka Si is the master of the house, i.e., Ma Kam-hang. She prepares to discuss her book contract with Ma. Porka Si rises to the occasion and claims to be Ma Kam-hang himself. This triggers a round of "musical chairs", wherein most of the characters temporarily lose their own, genuine identities and assume or make up new identities. Ma Kam-hang, who has lost both his identity as the co-publisher and his wife, Ivy, can only pretend to be Ah Sei, butler of the Ma household. Linda (Linda Lodge), dressed in a flimsy nightgown, pretends to be Maria, the Filipino maid. Linda's beau Richard Gee (Walter Pangbourne) and Henry's one-night stand partner Pat (Felicity Jane Wilkinson) make

up new identities that do not exist in the original play. Richard assumes the role of Ma Kam-hang's father and Pat pretends to be Ah Sei's wife, who has left home earlier in the play. At the same time, there are other, minor confusing relationships on the sidelines. For example, when Ma Kam-hang and Henry are trying to find out whether Ivy is romantically involved with Porka, their somewhat intimate behaviour leads Porka into thinking that they are homosexual. Ma and Henry thus become both gay and business partners. At the same time, Pat, never having seen Henry before, mistakes Ma Kam-hang for Henry when she enters the apartment. These identity shuffles are set out in Chart 9.1.

Transient identities

Together, the people in the Ma mansion form a "performance team", and they ostensibly cooperate in staging a series of performances, and in creating a kind of "collusion or 'understanding' without altering the basic frame of reference" (Goffman 1990: 85). Ivy can be said to be the director of the series of performances, whose role is to manage the impression they want to make upon Pak Oi-sum, who is the only audience, and thus the only one whose expectations of the routines can influence the standards of good performance. Ivy assigns the parts and tries to bring back into line any member of the team whose performance becomes unsuitable, by prompting them with the lines they are supposed to say and reminding them of the behaviour appropriate for the role they are playing. Goffman refers to such patterns of behaviour as "manner", which means the way the performer is expected to play the role and the personal touch he or she adds to the role. For instance, Ivy often reminds Porka Si to speak gently, as the fastidious Ma Kam-hang would. She also maintains the "front" of the performances. According to Goffman, front is the

"expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed" (1990: 22) during a performance. A front is divided into several components. First, the setting: these are the scenic, physical parts of the expressive equipment. In *Naughty Couple*, the setting is the most significant aspect of the front of the performances. As Pak Oi-sum and the performers in the Ma mansion have not met each other before, the performers can rely only on commonsense imagination and Pak's words to work out what Pak's expectations are on the spot. When Pak arrives and first talks to Ivy, Pak reiterates her wish that her ideal publisher be "moral" (*you daode* 有道德), and the fact that she has severed business ties with her former publisher because he has published a pornographic book entitled 蕩婦淫娃 (*dangfu yinwa*) [Sluts and whores]. In view of Pak's puritanical disposition, Ivy, as the director of the performances, "improves" on one of the props—she uses two leaves to conceal a woman's nipples in a copy of one of Picasso's paintings. Pak Oi-sum seems very pleased and says:

> 白愛心： 恰到好處，藝術同色情只係一綫之差，呢兩塊樹葉真係可圈可點。
>
> [Pak Oi-sum: That is just right. There is a precarious line between art and pornography. These two leaves are perfectly placed.]
>
> (Szeto 1993)

Next is the personal front, which means other items of the performer's expressive equipment the possession of which is perceived to be natural, such as size and looks, speech patterns. Goffman makes a further distinction between appearance and "manner". Appearance is those aspects of an individual that are indicative of his or her social status—formal or informal, conformity or individuality. Expectations about appearance are often regularised or normative within a culture–although this is more varied today as fashion designers and followers of fashion challenge expectations.

"Appearance signs" are selected (corporate and gang uniforms). Appearance works ritualistically to tell of the performer's status–formal or informal, conformity/individuality. Dress, props (clothes, car, house, food, body posture, facial expressions, gestures) serve to communicate gender, status, occupation, age and personal commitments. Manner is those aspects of communication that reveal the type of interactive roles performers expect to play in a certain situation. In *Naughty Couple* appearance is not as important as front, since Pak cannot evaluate the performances because she has not seen the performers before and thus has no idea of what the performers are in their normal selves. In other words, the performances appear plausible to her.

At the same time as they give rise to many twists and turns which have hilarious results, the complications and deceptions of the hopeful lovers also suggest two aspects of identity. The first of these is the artificiality and volatility of identities. In the case of the characters in the bedroom farce, identities are not permanent fixtures. To quote Park's idea on role-playing again, identities are like masks—one can put on or take off identities at will, for the most part. There may be reasons behind the shuffle of identities, but there are not necessarily logical or moral issues attached to it. The choice of an identity has little to do with beliefs, principles, commitments, appearance or temperament. Once identities are shuffled, the interpersonal relationship and power structures are twisted or subverted. For example, Porka Si takes advantage of his borrowed identity as Ma Kam-hang and orders around the real master of the house. Ma Kam-hang, desperate to win the much-needed book contract, puts up with Porka Si's bullying. Ivy and Linda are friends, but after the identity swap Linda becomes Ivy's maid and obeys her order to fetch toilet rolls. The jumble of identities, somewhat frivolous and bizarre for the

purposes of humour, reveal the ease with which one can give up, make up or assume identities other than one's own. Convenience and choice, rather than inheritance, competence or compatibility, are the standards for the identities assumed in *Naughty Couple*.

The second aspect is the expedience and irrationality of identity assignment. In *Naughty Couple*, identity assignment is an exercise involving three steps: appointment, appellation and performance. Ivy, supposedly clear-headed amid the identity shuffle, is the one who assigns new identities to the other characters and addresses them by their new names. She determines who should be who under the rapidly changing circumstances, assigns a new identity to a particular character, and affirms the assignment by saying out loud, for example, "He (Porka Si) *is* my husband, Ma Kam-hang." Despite her obvious intentions, Ivy's identity assignment exercise appears to be whimsical. Her decisions are positional, conditional and conjectural, and are products of convenience. With regard to the question of who should be who, a rationale cannot always be discerned in the name-tagging. The simple rule of thumb appears to be: pick whoever is on the spot at the moment. When Pak Oi-sum turns up in the living room, Ivy, losing sight of Ma Kam-hang, grabs Porka Si, who happens to wander into the living room in pyjamas for a drink, and names Porka Si surrogate husband on the spur of the moment. After assignment and appellation, Ivy supplements the statement with a knowing gaze and a firm pat on the shoulder of the appointee (Porka Si), and nods emphatically to her audience (Pak Oi-sum and everyone else present in the flat). Upon Ivy's order, Porka Si obediently acknowledges his new identity as her husband by referring to himself as such ("Yes, I'm Ma Kam-hang, her husband and director of the publishing house"), and then performs his new identity like an actor. For example, instead of slouching on the sofa

in his usual campy way, Porka Si now sits up straight and wears a coy smile, as the uptight Ma Kam-hang would. He strokes Ivy's lap and shoulders and fondles her hair occasionally, faking affection between husband and wife. Although Porka Si's exploits, in the short time span of the stage performance, are but "singular or deliberate" acts, as opposed to Judith Butler's definition of performativity as "the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names" (1993: 2),[5] his play-acting can be considered a simplified version of identity performance.

The identity performances in the Ma mansion are short-lived, superficial and rough-and-ready. The routines presented by the performers are rudimentary. Soon after the purpose of the performances has been achieved, i.e., when the only audience, Pak Oi-sum, has signed the book contract and left the mansion, the performers leave the front stage and resume their back-stage behaviour, or one may say that they return to their normal everyday roles and to being "themselves". Owing to the transience and spontaneity of the performances, there is no transformation required of the performers. The performances are mere masks, which are taken off once the performances are over. (We will discuss identity performance further later in the chapter.)

The Ma mansion is a confined space, and the number of available identities is limited. The people in the mansion have been displaced from their original identities—the sudden arrival of Pak Oi-sum triggers a permutation of identities. In order to cover up lies with lies, they have no choice but to assume new identities. Ma Kam-hang is no longer Ivy's husband, nor is Porka Si the Mas' interior decorator, and Linda is not Henry's wife. If one is to consider identity as a position, a point of reference in relation to other people, they are transposed from their original positions.

They can either leave the house and retain the integrity of their current identities, or obtain new identities through borrowing or invention.

The title *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* highlights changes of positions. Mrs. Markham, like everyone else in the house, must "move over" to make room for others, so that peace can be maintained. The Ma mansion can be compared to Hong Kong, supposedly home to the people living in the territory. The precipitate arrival of an important figure, the sovereign rule of China, is set to threaten the original position of Hongkongers. They are no longer colonial subjects of Britain, and they may not be able to retain their identity as practitioners of a capitalist economy. They are not sure if they can remain outsiders of the politics of Communist China. Their language identity as Cantonese-speakers is also shaken; since Putonghua is the national language, the trend and the pressure on them is to learn and speak Putonghua. In a similar way to the people in the Ma mansion, they are "*dis*placed but not *re*placed", but the position alterations "remains[s] a source of trouble, the shifting ground of signification that makes meanings tremble" (original emphasis; Bammer 1994: xiii). It is not necessarily true that they will lose their original identities. They are not yet *replaced*, but they do not know for certain their new, rightful positions, thus they feel *displaced*.

Pygmalion

The play *Pygmalion* (1913) by George Bernard Shaw is also a story of identity performance based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In the Greek myth, Pygmalion is a Cypriot sculptor who carves a woman out of ivory. The statue is so fair and realistic and beautiful that he falls with love with it. Venus grants him his love wish and

changes the sculpture into a real woman named Galatea, who later becomes his wife. Shaw's play *Pygmalion* has an interesting spin on the original story. The heroine Eliza Doolittle aspires to move upwards in society. When she changes from an impudent cockney-speaking flower girl in Covent Garden into a refined lady like a duchess, it has less to do with her innate qualities than with the fairy-tale aspect of the "performance" myth—an intralingual and interclass impression. The director is Professor Henry Higgins, a phonetics expert who plays Pygmalion to Eliza Doolittle's Galatea. Eliza is denounced as a "squashed cabbage leaf" that can do no better than "Ah-ah-ah-ow-ow-ow-oo" and barking at others. The frame of reference is an English aristocratic disposition that features elegant manners and, above all, a cut-glass accent; whereas the target text is Eliza the "Queen of Sheba", who can pass as a duchess at an ambassador's garden party. One thing that must be changed is Eliza's speech—an ugly accent, according to Higgins, may curse her fate as it "will keep her in the gutter to the end of her days". The performance is aided by two informal Pygmalions: only with Mrs. Pearce working on the girl's appearance and manners, and with Colonel Pickering working, albeit unknowingly, on her self-respect and dignity, can Eliza Doolittle become a whole duchess package, rather than just a rough-mannered common flower girl who can parrot the speech of a duchess. The identity translation conducted by Higgins on Doolittle has to be authenticated by members of the target culture, i.e., Mrs. Higgins and guests at the ambassador's garden party. However, Eliza's original identity does not cease to exist—in her excitement, her old accent, along with shocking facts such as her father's alcoholism, slip out. She is able to maintain her ties with both her old and new lives, attending her father's wedding and eventually moving back into 27A Wimpole Street with Higgins and Pickering after she marries Freddy. She is the vehicle that carries the original identity and, through her performance, acquires an additional identity. The

performance is more than a process of transformation which produces a new discourse at the margins; it is also one of superimposition, which tops up the original discourse with the target discourse.

Shaw believes social class to be accidental, superficial and subject to change. The Cinderella-like tale of *Pygmalion* is a parallel not only of the rags-to-riches story of Hong Kong's economic development, but also of the can-do attitudes of its audacious and enterprising residents. Hong Kong is full of success stories about business tycoons with humble beginnings. It is not difficult to understand how *Pygmalion* strikes a chord with Hong Kong people—if a glum and unsophisticated girl like Eliza Doolittle can climb up the social ladder, why can't I? The keyword here is *translation*, both in linguistic and sociocultural terms, which invests a text with self-interest, and which helps people come to terms with a "foreign" discourse and eventually gives rise to another new discourse.

Pygmalion *in Hong Kong*

Before the 1980s, the story of Eliza Doolittle was known to Hong Kong people mainly through the musical film *My Fair Lady* (1964), which featured the English actress Audrey Hepburn. The film was entitled in Chinese *Yaotiao shunü* 窈窕淑女 [Lovely is this noble lady], a household phrase borrowed from *Shijing* 詩經 [*Book of Songs*].[6] In October 1969, *Pygmalion* was first translated and staged in Hong Kong by the Association of Tertiary Students 大專學生公社 (Dazhuan xuesheng gongshe). The director was Xu Yanwang 徐燕王. After the 1980s, *Pygmalion* became markedly more popular in the territory. There were not only several stage performances but also a cinematic adaptation. In 1984–1985, Chung Ying Theatre Company took *Pygmalion* on

a school tour and retitled the play 天啊！多難聽！ (*Tian a! Duo nanting!* lit. trans.: Oh my God! This is jarring to the ear!). It was jointly directed by Bernard Goss, Bernadette Tsui and other Chung Ying artists. In 1988 a Cantonese film entitled *The Greatest Lover* (公子多情 *Gongzi duoqing*; lit. trans.: The gentleman has so much love to give) hit the local cinema, starring two of the most popular actors in Hong Kong at that time, Stephen Chow Yun-fat 周潤發 (Zhou Yunfa) and Anita Mui Yim-fong 梅艷芳 (Mei Yanfang). *The Greatest Lover* was a commercial blockbuster and reaped more than HK$ 23 million in box office receipts from 30 July to 1 September 1988 (Anonymous 2006). The film was a very free adaptation of Shaw's play script; it gave no credit to Shaw and made no mention of the play at all. From October to November 1997, Spring Time Productions staged a sinified version of *Pygmalion*. The Chinese title was *Yaotiao shunü*窈窕淑女 [Lovely Is This Noble Lady]. The translator was Rupert Chan and the director was Ko Tin-lung. In May 2004, the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts put on a student production of *Pygmalion*, entitled *Mahua nü* 賣花女 [Flower-selling girl]. The performance was largely a literal translation of Shaw's play by Yang Zhaohe楊兆和, Feng Zhai'en 馮澤恩, and Lai Jianfa 賴建發, and directed by Deng Anli 鄧安力.

Lovely Is This Noble Lady

Rupert Chan's *Lovely Is This Noble Lady* is a story of self-reinvention that begins with linguistic transformation and ends with advancement in social status. In this 1997 stage adaptation of *Pygmalion*, Rupert Chan switched the background from Edwardian London to mid-1930s Hong Kong. The theatre in Covent Garden is changed to Ko Shing Theatre 高陞大戲院 on Queen's Road West, Central, Hong Kong. Chan said the background shift was inspired by Shaw's visit to the University of

Hong Kong in 1933 (Chan 2009; HKU Development & Alumni Office n.d.). Henry Higgins becomes a phonetics professor who teaches at the University of Hong Kong upon graduation from Oxford. His Chinese name is 譚英傑 (Tan Yingjie). Eliza Doolittle is renamed 杜蘭香 (Du Lanxiang), speaks Cantonese with a strong Taishan 台山 accent and knows no English at all.

Social class and performance

Du Lanxiang's transformation is a kind of performance, in which language is an important "tool of socialisation" and "acculturation" (294). For Du, only clearly articulated Cantonese and English can give her a refined sense of self and the sophistication she aspires to, in order to break the class barrier. In other words, linguistic transformation is the major performance routine which Eliza has to engage in so as to achieve credibility, a routine which may also bring about a reinvention of the self - a "becoming", and ultimately an ascent to the class above her own. Language proficiency is an important means of acculturation and socialisation in her identity performance. According to Tam, a clear voice that talks with a genteel accent is a gift from heaven, whereas an ugly voice with an underclass accent is a waste of God's gift:

> 譚英傑： 一個滿口咁「銀」耳 o 既聲，十足吹銀雞咁 o 既女仔，係冇資格企响呢間代表藝術戲劇 o 既殿堂門口！上天賜你一把口嚟講人類 o 既語言，你就雞食泥咁聲！
>
> (Chan 1997; Act 1 p. 14)

> [TAN YINGJIE: Such an ear-splitting voice! This girl talks like blowing whistles. She doesn't deserve to stand in front of the Ko Shing Theatre, quintessence of the dramatic art! God gives you a voice to speak human languages, but you talk like a chick eating dirt!]

> 譚英傑： 今時一隻過街老鼠，失禮哂高陞戲院條擎天柱，跟咗我日後就俾個公主你做都得，

信不信由你！

(Chan 1997; Act 2: p. 36)

[TAN YINGJIE: Today you are like a rat crossing the street. You embarrass the pillars in Ko Shing Theatre. Come and learn with me. In the future you'll become a princess. Believe it or not!]

Tan describes the content of his training programme:

譚英傑： 你來住，隨我來學；

最端正音，最端正 talk。

談吐流利，儀態文靜來 walk。

你要勤力學，唔發憤，間呎扑。

你英中要兼通，要識 waltz 要識 rock。

才有花塔餅獎，還有零用錢揮霍！

半年後，實踐量度，去督憲府跳 fox trot，人當你名門望族，是窈窕淑女明確！

千金小姐證據確鑿，是歸功我教 talk and walk。

呢你唔學，唔領情就蠢咯！ (Chan 1997; Act 2, p. 36)

[TAN YINGJIE: Come and live in my place, and learn from me:

The most refined accent, the most refined talk.

Talk eloquently, and walk elegantly.

You must work hard, or I will beat you with a ruler.

You must be able to speak Chinese and English. You should know how to waltz and dance rock 'n' roll.

If you're good, I'll give you sweets and pocket money.

In six months' time, let's see what you've got.

We'll go to the governor's residence and dance the foxtrot.

People should regard you as an aristocrat. A fair lady no less!

That'll be proof of my hard work, that I've taught you

how best to talk and walk.

What a fool you'd be, if you refuse my offer.]

Throughout the first half of the play, Tan emphasises how quickly and easily he can teach someone to be urbane and bilingual.

譚英傑： 好多暴發戶呀、買辦夫人嗰挺「高等華人」，要打入上流社會，但係又唔識英文兼夾滿口鄉音，咪搵我教佢哋囉……

（Chan 1997; Act 1: 13）

[TAN YINGJIE: So many "superior Chinese", such as those nouveaux riches and compradors' wives, want to get into the upper class, but they hardly know English and speak with a strong country accent. So they ask me to teach them. …]

He boasts that within three months Du Lanxiang should be able to pass for an upper-class lady at a garden party at the governor's residence, and that within six months she will be able to sell flowers to tycoons on Lyndhurst Terrace in Central, two landmarks of the upper class in Hong Kong society (Chan 1997; Act 1: 14). His training programme is indeed a crammer course. Language proficiency and refined manners, according to Tam, are a matter less of breeding than of expediency, and less of nature than of nurture. One can be born lower-class and learn to appear upper-class. The short duration of the training programme suggests that social and cultural refinement can be standardised, manufactured and applied to almost anyone, such as the flower girl Du Lanxiang, as well as the nouveaux riches and compradors' wives. The uniformity and speed of the training is not unlike the production process in manufacturing. Human culture and learning are commodified; they can be materialised, standardised, priced and transferred. They represent the labour of the teacher and the students and satisfy the desires of their owners. In *Lovely Is This Noble Lady*, Du and Tan share and want the same goal, which is for Du to "perform" a more

favourable identity discourse than her own.

Commodity value

According to Marxist political economy theory, commodification refers to the assignment of economic value to something not previously considered in economic terms (Blunder 2008). Languages, age, manners and identity discourses are intangibles. Shaw's *Pygmalion* is essentially a social problem play about class society. Awam Amkpa points out in his review of the film version of *Pygmalion* (1937; dir. Leslie Howard and Anthony Asquith) that language change is a beacon of social mobility: "the plot draws our attention to the linguistic as well as class borders she [Eliza] crosses" in order to "better her working-class status and stasis" and obtain access to the values and status of the upper-class culture (Amkpa 1999: 294, 295). Yet the process by which Tan Yingjie coaches Du Lanxiang in *Lovely Is This Noble Lady* shows how these intangibles represent a product of human labour which then becomes tradable. For Tan, language and manners can be taught and trained. For a price, he is willing to pass on his knowledge of linguistic skills and social manners.

Karl Marx states that a thing can be useful without being a commodity. The definition underlines the two-fold feature of a commodity: *exchange value* and *social use value* (Marx 1859, *Capital*, chapter 1, part 1). In *Lovely Is This Noble Lady*, language and manners have exchange value, meaning that they can be used and traded for other commodities. This is obvious in that Tan charges Du for the training programme:

> 譚英傑： 老馬，你計吓：呢隻咁 o 既坑渠老鼠，蹈街邊賣花，一日咪頂籠搵兩個銀錢？佢肯出個半，如果係百萬富翁，一日搵三幾千，即係出到成二千銀一堂，Good Heavens! She's the most generous student I've ever had!

(Chan 1997; Act 2, p. 30)

> [TAN YINGJIE: Old Ma, let's do a quick sum: A ditch rat like her squats on the pavement and sells flowers. At most she earns a meagre two dollars a day. Now she's willing to pay me a dollar and a half for each lesson. If she were a millionaire making around three thousand a day, she would pay me two thousand dollars per lesson. Good Heavens! She's the most generous student I've ever had!]

The tuition fee that Du proposes to pay is a dollar and a half per lesson. Tan calculates that the equivalent sum for a millionaire would be two thousand dollars per lesson, which apparently delights him. (Later in the same act, Ma Donglai 馬東萊, Pickering in *Pygmalion*, offers to pay the tuition fee for Du. Tan then charges Du only a token amount of one dollar for the entire course of training.) As commodities, the linguistic and social skills Du acquires are also the tools that will satisfy her desire for another commodity—membership of the upper class. Yet this is not the end. For Du Lanxiang, to be recognised as upper-class means she is now able to obtain a better job and thus independence. The consumption of one commodity (i.e., linguistic and social skills) will lead to the acquisition of another commodity (i.e., a higher social status and subsequently a better way of life). *Lovely Is This Noble Lady* dramatises the process of commodification of languages, manners, and in turn, identity discourses. In Shaw's *Pygmalion*, the commodification of languages, manners and social class is not emphasised. In Rupert Chan's adaptation, languages and manners are marketed commodities, something to be bought and sold rather than freely given.

To say that social class is also a commodity in Hong Kong is to suggest that social mobility is a contradictory process: demeaning and dehumanising, but at the same time liberating and progressive. Such an extension of the meaning of commodification has several implications for the identity politics of Hong Kong society. First, a given social class, as an identity discourse, is more a product of

nurture than of nature. There is no royalty in Hong Kong. Social status is not inherited, but is rather detachable and changeable. One may be born in the lower class, but through hard work, education and the acquisition of wealth, one may eventually climb up to the upper class. Second, in a highly commercialised city such as Hong Kong, identity discourses related to social classes are marketable commodities which can be charged at different prices. This means that these social identity discourses are to differing degrees attainable, be it through money or hard work. There is nothing shameful about a humble beginning, as long as one aspires to be upwardly mobile. On the other hand, there is nothing shameful about concealing one's lowly background, as long as one does not forget where one is from.

Identity Performance

Identity mobility is akin to Freud's idea of displacement—*Verschiebung* (literally, "pushing aside"). Central to the conducting of dream-work, it is the process by which uncomfortable thoughts and feelings ("latent dream-thoughts") are transferred to the safe remove of representational symbols ("manifest dream-content"). Displacement is thus similar to repression (*Verdrängung*). In both cases, something is pushed aside, as it were, only in the latter case more forcefully and permanently. Therefore, *dis*placement is not the same as *re*placement (Freud 1989: 154–55). With Derrida, the critical move in the interpretive (i.e., meaning-generating) process is also a form of pushing aside: the process of deconstructing layers of meaning in the course of which meaning becomes *différence*—infinitely dispersed, indefinitely deferred (Derrida 1982: 109–12). As with Freud, what is displaced—dispersed, deferred, repressed, pushed aside—is, significantly, still there. What has been displaced remains a source of commotion, the shifting ground of

signification that makes meanings all the more unstable.

The fact that identity can be displaced is an indication of the multiple and mutable nature of the Self. Erving Goffman (1990) compares the presentation of the Self in everyday life to a performance and offers a plausible explanation of why the meanings of a Self-identity are unstable. To a certain extent, one can play whatever type of character one wants, and there are as many characters as there are people. A person may present himself in a manner similar to that in which he puts on a performance. With every performance, he plays a different character and takes on a different identity discourse, showing a different facet of the Self. Each character provides the individual with a position which has its own set of protocols of appearance, manners and interactions with other characters.

Identity performance, according to Goffman, is a "cycle of disbelief-to-belief" (1990: 31), which starts with conviction, insecure aspiration, or intended or accidental assignment:

> When an individual plays a part he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them. They are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess, that the task he performs will have the consequences that are implicitly claimed for it, and that, in general, matters are what they appear to be.
>
> (Goffman 1990: 28)

In the case of Du Lanxiang (and Eliza), as a "performer" she typically conducts "dramatic realisation" to convince herself and her audience. And she infuses the performance with "signs which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that might otherwise remain unapparent or obscure" (Goffman 1990: 40). To *be* a given character is not merely to possess and display a set of appropriate features of conduct and appearance, but also to sustain the pattern in a coherent, embellished

and well-articulated manner, which is the performance routine. The standard of appropriateness is defined by the social group, represented by the upper-class gathering, attached to Du's performed character of a refined lady. When playing her character, she is displaced from her original position and changes her orientation and identification accordingly, and temporarily forgoes or conceals her original vulgarities, which would be inconsistent with the new standard. Then she replaces her original routines with those routines that are in order, so that the performance will be plausible.

In his discussion of the use of a language variety other than one's own, Ben Rampton defines "crossing" as "the use of a language or variety that, in one way or another, feels anomalously 'other'" (Rampton 2000: 54; also see Rampton 1999). "Passing", on the other hand, means being taken for an authentic speaker of a particular language or variety which, therefore, does not feel anomalously "other", like the case of the second language learners reported by Piller (2002). But Piller goes on to state that "passing is a temporary performance"; it is "context-specific in that it is typical of first encounters, often service encounters", and such passing practices are "designed for a particular audience" (Piller 2002: 200). In both "crossing" and "passing", identity is being constantly performed, constructed, enacted or produced. In the case of "crossing", one's identity has transformed from the one associated with one's native language or variety to the one associated with the new language or variety. The original identity is abandoned. In the case of "passing", one simply has one's original identity suspended, making room for the new identity to be superimposed on top while retaining the original identity underneath.

Du Lanxiang's language acquisition process is a kind of "passing". When she uses features of upper-class Cantonese and English she is superimposing onto her

underclass membership or underprivileged social identity that "other" identity. Apparently a new identity has been created, and she succeeds in being taken for an upper-class lady on the planned occasion, i.e., the governor's garden party. The context and the audience have been predetermined. More importantly, Du knows that it is only a temporary performance. The transience of her performance means that she can acquire a new upper-class identity while keeping the old underclass identity. She can switch between different identities at will. Her transformation would have been a kind of "crossing" if she had completely left behind the flower girl she was and if she could no longer utter any of her old Taishan sounds. On the contrary, her family ties, her past history as an unruly flower girl, and her Taishan accent seldom disconcert or deter her. Even after her metamorphosis into an upper-class lady, she is still happy to see her father and gladly agrees to attend his wedding. In doing so, she is demonstrating her Chinese virtues through her unwillingness to abandon her roots (不忘本 *bu wangben*).

The refined identity she is trying to obtain is as much a tool of upward mobility as an entrance ticket to another lifestyle. When she realises that speaking like a lady does not necessarily empower her, and that she can decide how she should speak and carry on living, she demonstrates the ability to consider her identity and to assume different identity discourses under different circumstances. She is merely "passing" from one identity role to another. By putting on various identity performances, she proves that she is now empowered to renew herself. She demonstrates a subjectivity that is a systematic consciousness and desire for negotiating identities.

Translation, Emigration and Performance

Move Over, Mrs. Markham! and *Pygmalion* both concern translation, emigration and performance. In their Hong Kong versions, *Naughty Couple* and *Lovely Is This Noble Lady*, many characters play roles that are new to them and in their emigrations and performances they acquire translated identities. In Chapter 1 the writer proposed the term *identity translation* to illustrate how Hong Kong people expand their cultural home territory through emigration. While we may say that a translation migrates from one language and culture to another language and culture, we can also say one has one's identity translated during migration. The idea of "translation" is adopted here in order to emphasise the border-crossing nature of the process, as well as the conversion and creation involved therein. Stretching the concept of translation beyond the transfer of texts and textual elements between languages (cultures, literature), translation can be redefined as "the *migration* and *transformation* of discursive elements between different discourses" (Robyns 1994: 408; my emphasis).

Translation, emigration and performance are comparable concepts, as they invariably involve the movement from one position to another. In the case of translation, the two positions are specified respectively by the source text, language and culture and the target text, language and culture; in the case of emigration, the home town and the region to which one is emigrating; in the case of performance, the role the actor played previously (which may be the actor's true self) and the role he is now playing. Between the two positions there is not a vacuum, but there are incessant movements. Some discourses may be picked up and others are left behind, and the content of the identity basket may change accordingly. What is more important is that new identity discourses may be generated.

Mobility implies an ability to manoeuvre situations and to reinvent identities.

When one "moves over", one changes position in order to make room for someone else, or to a new system or way of doing something (Collins Cobuild, ver. 3.1), bringing about changes in location, orientation and identification. Problems may be solved and opportunities may arise, and, as in *Naughty Couple* and *Lovely Is This Noble Lady*, often lead to happy results. The sense of the self arises from the ability to move on and around. The constancy of identity is derived not from the maintenance of the status quo, but rather from a persistent appetite for change. That both plays were presented as comedies tells us much about the kind of optimism that exists in the Hong Kong psyche.

NOTES

1. The writer was not able to secure a copy of the printed screenplay of *Naughty Couple*, the adaptation of Ray Cooney and John Chapman's *Move Over, Mrs. Markham!* Upon request, Szeto Wai-kin, writer of both the stage script and the screenplay, promised to retrieve the screenplay but was unable to do so. It was handwritten back then and there was no electronic copy made as back-up. He said he could not get hold of the film company and believed the film company was unlikely to have filed all screenplays to date. Dominic Cheung, director of the namesake stage production, provided a typewritten copy, courtesy of a student at the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts, Chen Zhuowei 陳焯威. The writer would like to extend gratitude to Szeto, Cheung and Chen for their kind efforts.

   The analysis of *Naughty Couple* is based on Chen's typewritten version. The writer took pains to check the lines and stage directions against the film, and found very few significant differences. In the stage production the Markham mansion is depicted as a one-floor apartment in Shaukeiwan, Hong Kong. The flat dimension would probably entail a lower cost in backdrop production. In the film version the Markham mansion became a two-storey house in Sai Kung, Hong Kong. The running and panting of the actors up and down the staircase generated much physical humour. The only difference is when Henry's one-night-stand partner sings him a short refrain from a flirty song over the phone. In the stage production the song chosen was George Lam's 林子祥 *Huose shengxiang* 活色生香 (Temptations). The refrain was "熱力是沒法擋，紅唇在爲你張"

(*Reli shi meifa dang, hongcun zai wei ni zhan*g; lit. trans.: The heat is irresistible; her red lips are wide-open for you.) In the film version the song is changed to Veronica Yip's 葉玉卿 *Dangbuzhu de fengqing* 擋不住的風情 (Irresistible sensations). The refrain is: "來吧，我甚麼都應承：來吧！我甚麼都聽命" (*Laiba, wo shenme dou yingcheng; laiba, wo shenme dou tingming*; lit. trans.: Come on, I will promise you everything. Come on, I will obey your every order.) Veronica Yip was a sex icon in the territory at the time of the film production. The adoption of Yip's song is more appropriate in this context than Lam's song, as the former is consistent with the image of the phone operator, who claims she and Yip look alike. This also arouses more fantasy as the audience could allude to a real-life celebrity and the dramatic effect would be enhanced.

2. The binary opposition between "light-hearted", "comic", and "popular" theatre and "serious", "highbrow" theatre is problematic, but I use it in this chapter based on the way in which the theatre practitioners themselves distinguish the types of plays staged in the territory. Here Eagleton's (2000) distinction between the universally relevant and appealing *Culture*, which often makes up part of the canon, and the numerous "blatantly particular" *cultures*, which are often locally rooted and do not travel so well, is very helpful. When Hong Kong theatre practitioners talk about "serious" or "highbrow" theatre, they are usually referring to internationally renowned plays which are performed by professional theatre companies all over the world, i.e., *Cultures*. When they talk about light-hearted dialect comedies, they are referring to plays which could not successfully be performed outside the territory, i.e., local *culture*.

3. All quotations of Szeto Wai-kin are taken from the author's interview with him in Hong Kong on 14 December 2009, unless otherwise specified. See Szeto (2009).

4. The names of the characters have been changed (The two sets of names and the meanings of the Chinese names are given in Table 9.1). For the sake of clarity, in the analysis in this section, the names in Szeto's version will be used.

5. Judith Butler has been enormously influential in arguing that identity is the effect of performance, and not vice versa. Gender is, she has written, "a construction that conceals its genesis, the tacit collective agreement to perform, produce, and sustain discrete and polar genders as cultural fictions is obscured by the credibility of those productions" (1990: 140). Her main objective is to explore the materiality of sex.

6. The Chinese film title *Yaotiao shunü* 窈窕淑女 is a phrase borrowed from the poem "*Guanzui*" 關雎 ("Fair, Fair, Cry the Ospreys") from *Shijing* 詩經 (*Book of Songs*). The actual line is: "窈窕淑女，君子好逑" ("*Yaotiao shunu, junzi hao qiu*"; "Lovely is this noble lady; / Fit bride for our lord.") (Arthur Waley's translation; Minford and Lau 2000: 82).

English Name	Name in *Naughty Couple*	Remarks
Philip Markham	馬錦恆 (Ma Kam-hang)	Transliteration of the family name Markham. A pun on 猛咁行 (C: Maang3gaam2heng4), which means "walking nonstop".
Henry Lodge	盧子峰 (Lo Tsz-fung)	The surname *Lo* is taken from the first syllable of *Lodge*.
Markham and Lodge	峰恆出版社 (Fung Hang Publishing House)	峰恆 (Fung Hang) is a combination of the last characters of the owners' names.
Joanna Markham	Ivy	English name common among Hong Kong women
Linda Lodge	陳寶寶 (Chan Bobo)	English name common among Hong Kong women
Alistair Spenlow	Porka 史	Pun on the Cantonese swear-phrase 仆街死 (C: po7gai1sei2), which means "trip and fall on the street and die."
Olive Harriet Smythe	白愛心 (Pak Oi-sum)	Allusion to a Hong Kong celebrity writer and radio host Pamela Pak 白韻琴, who is often referred to as 白小姐 in the media.
Walter Pangbourne	Richard Gee	Pun on Richard Gere. Some Hongkongers would mispronounce "Gere" as "Gee".
Felicity Jane Wilkinson	周玉玲 / Pat	In the beginning of the play Henry's lover describes herself as "上面似周慧敏，中間似葉玉卿，下面似劉嘉玲" (lit. tran.: upper part is like Vivian Chow, middle part like Veronica Yip, lower part like Carina Lau), which leads Henry to associate her appearance with the respective body figures of the three beautiful Hong Kong actresses. In fact she refers to her Chinese name, the three characters of which are taken from the names of three actresses, i.e., 周（慧敏） （葉）玉（卿） （劉嘉）玲 In the remaining of the play she is more often called Pat.

Table 7.1 Character names of *Naughty Couple*

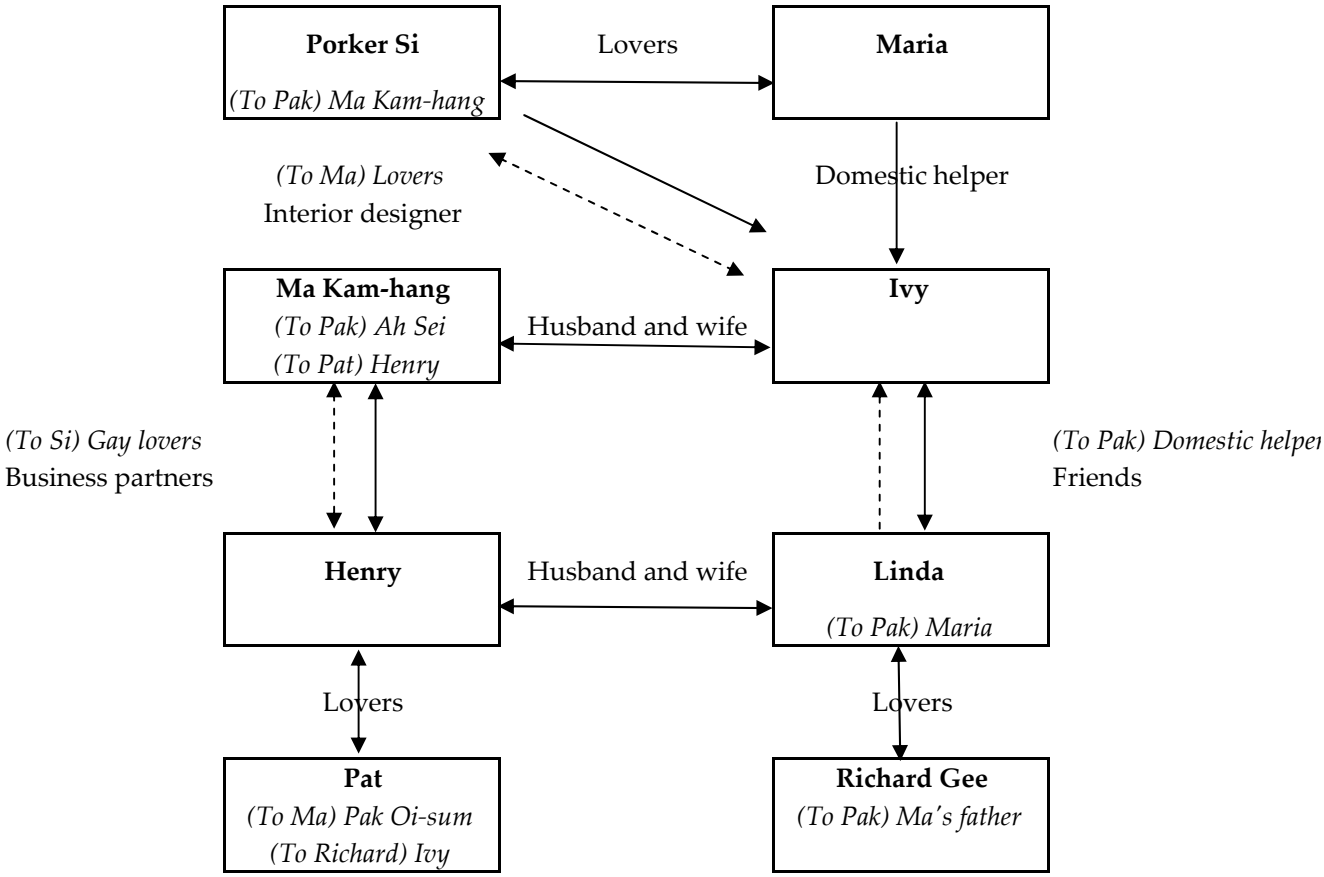

Chart 7.1 Relationship chart of *Naughty Couple*

CONCLUSION

The rise of translated theatre in Hong Kong evinced a gradual change in orientation, which reflects a stronger presence and assurance of local identity. This has two manifestations. First, the shift from literal translation to liberal translation. Fidelity, in terms of language, content and presentation, was once the golden rule for theatre translation, and the original play script was revered as the standard to which the translation and performance should refer. As translated theatre became popular, the approach was shifted from a straightforward, source-oriented translation to a more creative, target-oriented adaptation, i.e., from imitation to transformation. Second, the increased investment of the local in the foreign plays. While early thespians strived to guess and ascertain the "original" and "real" intent of the playwrights, their successors from the 1980s onwards often assume their own interpretations. The concept of authenticity was modified, from "the West as it should be" to "the West as I see it". When such local-orientation was put into actual performance, what was foreign became domesticated. Generally, there was a stronger feeling of confidence in the interpretation of foreign plays. For example, settings and language were often localised in order to enhance receptiveness.

The case studies in this research are designed to offer a critical review of how theatre translation in Hong Kong has evolved and how they reflected the subjectivity development of Hongkongers. The plays under study are representative of the translation tenets of the time and of a distinctive conception of the Self. They are selected for close scrutiny also because they have been re-run many times by important theatre troupes. These popular titles have been frequently revisited in spite of the increased availability of translated plays and diversity of foreign drama

repertoire. It is apparent that they carry certain themes which Hongkongers were particularly keen on exploring, and which are likely the "stubborn chunks" (Bhabha 1994: 219) in the composition of their identity construct. As such, these translations could more accurately reflect and refract what Hong Kong identity has become.

An Imitation Home

From the mid-1960s onwards, translated theatre began to attract the attention of the general public under the advocacy of Chung King-fai. A decade later, in the mid-1970s, The Seals Players entered the picture as the first theatre troupe dedicated to performing translated plays. In 1998, Theatre Space was established in the wake of the temporary suspension of The Seals Players in 1996 to carry the torch of translated theatre. Chung, The Seals Players and Theatre Space can be grouped together as representatives of the school of fidelity in translation, which has three major manifestations. First, accentuating Western culture. They considered it their obligation, as Westernised intellectuals, to foreground the highbrow image of translated theatre and to provide and promote a correct, authoritative interpretation of Western drama. Second, adhesiveness to the original Western play scripts. Their translations were source-oriented, with minimal changes being made to the original play scripts. They insisted on a strict equivalent approach in both text and performance. Chung advocated a kind of pragmatic fidelity, whereas The Seals Players and Theatre Space adopted a highly rigorous attitude that followed the original play script down to the word. They believed that Western drama celebrates the beauty of humanity and touches people of different cultures in the same way, including the Hong Kong Chinese. Hence, adaptations and localisations are pointless and superfluous.

Third, mimicry. They impersonated and enacted a Westernised identity behind their Chinese look, appearing to have internalised their own version of Western discourses, which they considered an inseparable part of a refined colonial heritage. They were indeed a breed of "mimic men", with little intention to resist or subvert the colonial power. In the 1970s and early 1970s, British and the broader Western influences were not antagonised as a complete Other, and seemed to have effected hegemony over certain Hongkongers and overshadowed the Chinese discourses in the preliminary rise of Hong Kong identity. When the local home was yet to come to shape, the cultural West came across as sophisticated and international, and as a convenient, ideal "model" from which the home could take reference. Rather than formulating a Hong Kong identity from scratch or retrieving a traditional Chinese identity which was being alienated at the time, Chung, The Seals Players and Theatre Space were asserting their rights to a Eurocentric modern worldview, and pressing their claim to full membership of a wider and more cosmopolitan civilisation.

Scaffolding of a New Home

A budding Hong Kong identity could be gauged in *Hamlet: Sword of Vengeance*, translated and directed by Richard Ho for the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre in the winter between 1977 and 1978. It was the first professional production of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* done in Cantonese and the first sinified Shakespearean performance in Hong Kong. The production had a double alignment—cultural China to as well as cultural West.

Vengeance leaves blanks to be filled, and was criticised for its lack of solid content and ideological investment. If its signification process is to be regarded as a

kind of domestrication, then the domesticity represented in the translation is a blurred vista. It is at best a shadowy site with overlapping silhouettes of East and West. Yet Ho's adaptation should not be faulted as a nebulous imitation, since it demonstrated a way to grow out of the hegemonies of Britain and China. Scaffolding of a new home, taking advantage of the cultural heritages of both sides, was in progress, and content and substance to furnish the home would come afterwards.

The adaptation set a precedent attesting that translated theatre could not only represent either the East or the West, but also combine both at the same time. The subjectivity of Hong Kong is not geopolitically centred. Traditional and cultural elements that appeared timeless and apolitical were selected and presented as universal features, with which Hongkongers would have no difficulty in identifying. These traits were subsequently organised into a framework for a new, synthetic creation. Feeling of uncertainty about the origin and the future of the territory are negotiated through abstraction and selective attachment. Obligations, loyalties of political affiliation and the myth of a monolithic nationalism are avoided, as common heritage and a shared cultural background were emphasised. In this way, Hongkongers seek to stay connected to their ethnic Chinese origin and simultaneously press their claims to a Western cultural citizenship.

Home Speak

Following the footsteps of *Vengeance*, Rupert Chan blazed a trail for the translated theatre in Hong Kong and gave a boost to localisation and adaptation of Western drama on the stage since the mid-1980s. His advocacy of Hongkong-speak suggested a hybrid language which symbolises the autonomy, creativity and resourcefulness of

Hong Kong culture. By using Hongkong-speak to retell Western stories in theatrical performances, and by emphasising its artistic value and validity, Chan credited Hong Kong and its language with a unique cultural identity. His rendering of Shakespearean dialogues can be termed "inventive compromise"—he made generous use of Hongkong-speak in the translated dialogues, both phonetically and semantically, while he also managed to closely follow Shakespeare's literary content and style. His accentuation of the local language is not achieved through replacing or subverting English or standard Chinese, nor is the local identity highlighted at the expense of a broader national (or ethnic) identity. Chan extensively replaced the cultural markers in the source text and gives prominence to the local language and culture. His approach, not unlike that of Richard Ho, is pragmatic, and his localised translations can be considered, to borrow Ortiz's term, "neoculturation" (F. Ortiz's word; translated and quoted in McKay & Wong 2000: 165), as they go beyond the syncretic model of an uneasy fusion of two cultures and languages. By juxtaposing two cultures, he underlines the historic specificity and artistic originality of the neoculturated product. Without concealing the fact that his works are adaptations of foreign drama, he artfully revealed the cultural divide and convinced the audience that it is indeed surmountable. The two cultures assimilate and substitute each other to (re)produce a third, hybridised cultural form. If *Vengeance* demonstrated the scaffolding of a new home, *Lantern Festival* and other theatre translations by Rupert Chan asserted the significance of the local language and culture and their role in substantiating the new found home.

A Home Modeled on Others'

Changes made on the original do not always only appear at the superficial level as

mere substitutions of story setting, linguistic features and cultural markers; they sometimes take the from of altered perspectives—with the plot, background and dialogues intact, the story is filtered and interpreted through the looking-glass of the local socioculture. Local values and ideas are projected onto a foreign play, so much so that *their* story looks amazingly like *our* story. For example, Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* is one of the most staged and best loved translated plays in Hong Kong. Since first being introduced to the local audience by Chung King-fai in 1964, it has been mounted eleven times in the territory. All of the productions in Hong Kong were invariably faithful renderings of the original play, in terms of setting, language and performance style, and the producers unanimously believed that the story of a 1940s American household, when filtered and interpreted through a particularly Hong Kong-Chinese perspective, would resonate with the Hong Kong audience of today. Our study on the reception of *Salesman* in Hong Kong demonstrates how the protagonist Willy Loman has become a cultural icon for discontented working-class fathers in popular culture and even in politics. Where Miller (1999) claimed that the notion of home was the key to the cross-cultural appeal of *Salesman*, the Hong Kong productions highlighted two particular aspects of home that endeared the Loman household to the local audience: the pursuit of wealth and the desire for one's sons to become "dragons".

Making an "exotic" world familiar, though paradoxical, is important for identity construction. The distance between the foreign and the local would provide room for reinforcement of aspects of the Self. Certain identity traits may not be immediately obvious, but they are made discernible by the foreign play. When found in the Other, these traits of the Self are doubly asserted, first by the Self and then by the Other. The Hong Kong audience may read a particular personality trait of their own in the

foreign characters—they consider that others are like us, and further establish that the trait is universal. Therefore, the distance between the two worlds may bring about "reverse universality", which is defined by and aligned with the Self. The process is self-centric, bottom-up and inward-spinning. Self-identity is thus strengthened through the discovery of how the Other is similar to the Self.

Movement between Homes

Move Over, Mrs. Markham! and *Pygmalion*, which are discussed in Chapter 7, both concern identity change and performance. In their Hong Kong versions, *Naughty Couple* and *Lovely Is This Noble Lady*, many characters play roles that are new to them, and through their performances they acquire new identities. In both plays, the characters pretend to be someone else, take on identities other than their own and enjoy the benefits of their labour. One may present oneself in a manner similar to that in which one puts on a performance. One could play any character one wants, and there are as many characters as there are people. Each character provides the individual with a position which has its own set of protocols of appearance, manners and interactions with other characters, actualising different possibilities of the Self. By putting on various identity performances, one is able to renew oneself, demonstrating a subjectivity that is a systematic consciousness and a desire for negotiating identities. At the same time, the commodification of identities, as seen in *Naughty Couple* and *Lovely Is This Noble Lady*, could be liberating and progressive. Identity discourses, more as products of nurture than of nature, are detachable, changeable and to a certain extent marketable, especially in a highly commercialised city such as Hong Kong. Most identity discourses are to differing degrees obtainable, be it through money or hard work. The consumption of one commodity (e.g.,

linguistic skills and social manners) will lead to the acquisition of another (e.g., a higher social status and subsequently a better way of life).

Mobility entails an ability to manoeuvre situations and to reinvent identities. The constancy of identity is derived not from the maintenance of the status quo, but rather from a persistent appetite for change. Problems may be solved and opportunities may arise, and, as in the two adaptations under discussion, may lead to happy endings. The sense of the Self arises from the ability to move on and around.

As we have demonstrated in the previous chapters, theatre translation in Hong Kong has been trying to find a way out of the dichotomies between East and West, and the traditional and the modern. If one cannot affix oneself to a single discourse, one may tend to mix them; and if one cannot find satisfaction and security in a single location, one may always "move over", seek new positions and new identities. Change is a popular motif among the translated titles. Changes of position bring about changes of identity, and with more identities one may gain greater control over one's circumstances. This is the survival tactic implicitly suggested by translated plays in Hong Kong. If home appears obfuscating and disappearing, it is because it is constantly undergoing relocation and transformation into different forms. Comedies about identity changes have been popular on the Hong Kong stage since the 1980s. In addition to *Pygmalion, Twelfth Night* and *Move Over, Mrs. Markham*, which we have discussed in detail in previous chapters, titles such as *A Servant of Two Masters, The Importance of Being Earnest, Noises Off, Spring Fever Hotel, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Run for Your Wife, A Flea in Her Ear, Room Service, An Absolute Turkey* and *Whose Life Is It Anyway?* were frequently staged and widely loved by the local audience.

Borrowing and Self-writing

Theatre translation is inherently an act of borrowing, and when borrowing from various sources often bestows diversity. The various elements are mixed or made coherent. New wholeness comes into being as hybridisation takes place. What translated drama on the Hong Kong stage strives to establish is a new conglomerated order. It tends to focus on the here-and-now, collecting bricks and mortar from the local, the foreign, the present, as well as the past. It is pragmatic, opportunistic and forward-looking.

Stuart Hall, in his seminal essay "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" (1990), says that there are at least two different ways to understand cultural identity. The first is "imaginative rediscovery" (224), which defines cultural identity in terms of "one shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self'" (223). The second finds "critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute 'what we really *are*' … or 'what we *have become*'" (original italics; 225). Cultural identity is a matter of "'becoming' as well as of 'being'", and it transcends place, time, history, and culture, and undergoes constant transformation (225). In our discussion, we find that the formation of Hong Kong identity agrees with the latter. Translated plays regard Hong Kong, mainland China and the West as essentially different but compatible, and the boundaries of difference are continually repositioned in relation to different points of reference. As the textual analyses in the previous chapters have shown, translated plays do not attempt to bring to light a common origin. They celebrate changes and differences—they capitalise on change as a motif to uproot certainty, and treat difference as a focus for all the fears, confusion and arguments that accompany homelessness. The homes that translated plays help construct are never finished or completed, but keep on moving to encompass others. Equivocating about

home allows for multifacetedness and continuity of Self-writing, and the capricious nature of Self-writing renders the notion of home as ever more equivocal.

The notion of intertextuality has brought about the destabilisation of an authoritative origin, insisting on the impossibility of determining textual boundaries and thus the impossibility of establishing the ultimate original text. Translation as a form of writing is always inherent in the source text, as all texts recur as altered forms of pre-existing texts—as intertexts (Loffredo and Perteghella 2006: 4). Paschalis Nikolau proposes a "creative turn" in translation studies, which underlines the "(auto)biographical" and creative aspects of literary translation and traces "marks of subjectivity that witness the personalization of the text of translation". "[Translation is] an extension of a self, a self to a degree constructed and transformed, … a principle of self-supposition is what should guide its processes. The translator's sense of identity is inevitably there, but crouching under another poetic sensibility, and sculpting its statue" (2006: 20).

In other words, literary translation could be considered a form of Self-writing, which allows the expression of subjectivity, sometimes in the guise of the pre-existing text. In the case of theatre translation in Hong Kong, the autobiographical trait is clear and significant. The Self-reflecting appropriation of foreign plays as Self-writing texts is manifested in the choice of titles and themes amenable to the local sociocultural condition, and the rendering of dialogues into Hongkong-speak, which reinforces the local lifestyle and linguistic particularities. In those translated plays changed into a sinified background, this Self-writing inclination is especially noticeable.

Self-writing often takes the form of rewriting, which not only takes into account discursive reconfigurations but also incorporates them into the local context,

reinvesting the translated plays with issues such as power, ideology, institution and manipulation. Translation as rewriting is thus an active form of interpretation, the cultural impact of which is extensive, as it is able to project the image of the source text beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin with the multiplicity and uncertainty of its origin. As reflected in theatrical translation, the evolution of Hong Kong identity has been carried out in the form of rewriting—reconfigurating discourses of Others for use by the Self.

年份	原本劇名	翻譯劇名	劇作家原名	劇作家譯名	劇作家國籍	改編/翻譯	導演	演出日期	演出場地	演出團體
191?	The Merchant of Venice	金債肉償	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			191?		皇仁中學話劇團
	Romeo and Juliet	仇情劫	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK					
	The Taming of the Shrew	悍婦回頭	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	鮑少莊/改編				
1924	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René		France	歐陽予倩/譯		1924		男青年會禮堂
1934	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France	歐陽予倩/譯	歐陽予倩	1934 夏天	男子青年會	廣東戲劇研究所畢業生
1938	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France	歐陽予倩/譯		1938		時代劇團
1938	La Locandiera	女店主	Goldoni, Carlo		Italy		歐陽予倩	1938.9		中國旅行劇團
1938	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René		France		歐陽予倩			
1939	Inspector-General	欽差大臣	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia	譚國恥/編	歐陽予倩	1939.3.30	中央戲院	中華藝術劇團
1939	Inspector-General	欽差大臣	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia	譚國恥/編	歐陽予倩	1939.3.31	中央戲院	中華藝術劇團
1939	Inspector-General	欽差大臣	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia	譚國恥/編		1939.4.18		第一劇團
1939	Inspector-General	欽差大臣	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia	譚國恥/編	歐陽予倩	1939.4.27	中央戲院	中華藝術劇團
1939	Tartuffe	僞君子	Molière	莫理哀	France	陳治策/編	歐陽予倩	1939.4.28	中央戲院	中華藝術劇團
1939	Tartuffe	僞君子	Molière	莫理哀	France	陳治策/編	歐陽予倩	1939.4.29	中央戲院	中華藝術劇團
1939	Inspector-General	欽差大臣	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia	譚國恥/編		1939.5.12	普慶戲院	中華藝術劇團
1939		鴛鴦嶺	薩都			杜絲嘉/改編	鍾啓南	1939.7	利舞台	廣東戲劇協會第一劇團
1940	Lady Windermere's Fan	少奶奶的扇子	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK	洪深/改編	洪謨	1940.7.15		劇藝社
1940		人約黃昏	雅羅納耳濡目			施誼/改編	司徒慧敏	1940.10.2	加路連山	業餘劇團
1940	La Locandiera	女店主	Goldoni, Carlo	戈爾杜尼	Italy	焦菊隱/改編	鄧竹筠	1940.10.4	孔聖堂	春秋劇團
1940		人約黃昏	雅羅納耳濡目			施誼/改編		1940.10.12-13	孔聖堂及普慶戲院	業餘劇團
1940	Proposal, The	求婚	Chekhov, Anton	契訶夫	Russia			1940.12.1	娛樂戲院	仿林中學劇團
1941		人約黃昏	雅羅納耳濡目			施誼/改編		1941.6.7		華英
1941	Inspector-General, The	巡閱使	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia	譚國恥/編	鍾啓南	1941.5		美華中學
1941	父帰る	父歸	菊池寬		Japan	田漢/譯		1941.6.30		春輝兒童劇團
1941		骨肉之間	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia			1941.6.30		民族藝術劇團
1941	The Imaginary Invalid	都會流行症	Molière	莫里哀	France			1941.7.8	孔聖堂	華僑中學戲劇比賽
1941		希特勒的傑作		F烏爾夫			章泯	1941.9.18	利舞台	保衛中西同盟
1946	The Imaginary Invalid	欽差大臣	Gogol, Nikolai	果戈里	Russia		瞿白音	1946.5-6		中原劇藝社

年份	原本劇名	翻譯劇名	劇作家原名	劇作家譯名	劇作家國籍	改編/翻譯	導演	演出日期	演出場地	演出團體
1948	Na Dne	人間地獄	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia	柯靈、師陀/改編	瞿白音	1948.9		中原劇藝社
1949	The Imaginary Invalid	都會流行病	Molière	莫里哀	France			1949		中原劇藝社
1950	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France	歐陽予倩/譯		1950.4.1	中青總會會所	青年會劇藝社
1951	Duel in the Sun	情花浴血向斜陽(粵劇)	Selznick, David O.		USA	唐滌生/改編		1951		錦上添花
1951	A Doll's House	娜拉	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway			1951.1.9	知行中學	知行中學
1951	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France			1951.4.27-28	協恩中學校堂	協恩中學
1951	La Locandiera	女店主	Goldoni, Carlo	戈爾杜尼	Italy	焦菊隱/改編		1951.5.31-6.2	窩打老道禮堂	青支會劇藝研究社
1951	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France			1951.7.21	孔聖堂	新僑中學
1952	The Proposal	求婚	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia			1952.5.11	聖士提反女校	聖士提反女校
1952	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France			1952.7.25-26	皇仁書院	女青職業婦女部
1952	The Imaginary Invalid	都市流行症	Molière	莫里哀	France			1952.7.28	啓發中學	啓發中學
1953		有家室的人	Galsworthy, John	高斯華綏	UK		黃凝林	1953.4.11-12	皇仁書院	中英學會中文戲劇組
1953	Lady Windermere's Fan	少奶奶的扇子	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK			1953.10.23-25	葛師校堂	葛師校友會
1953	父帰る	父歸	菊池寬		Japan	田漢/譯		1953.11.28	青年會禮堂	平正會計專科學校
1954	Madonna of the Seven Moons	富士山之戀(粵劇)	Lawrence, Margery		UK	唐滌生/改編		1954		鴻運劇團
1954	Inspector-General, The	欽差大臣	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia			1954.1-3	八達中學	八達中學
1954	Imaginary Invalid, The	都市流行症	Molière	莫里哀	France			1954.4.5	梅芳中學	梅芳中學
1954	Lady Windermere’s Fan	少奶奶的扇子	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK			1954.5.1	嶺英中學	嶺英中學
1954		黃金迷	Molière	莫里哀	France			1954.5.15	中青會總堂	養中中學
1954	The Imaginary Invalid	都市流行症	Molière	莫里哀	France			1954.7.10.11	葛師	中青青英團契
1954		黃金迷	Molière	莫里哀	France			1954.10.23	中青會支會	中青會友團
1954	The Sacred Flame	心燄	Maugham, William Somerset	毛姆	UK		譚國始	1954.11.4	皇仁書院	中英學會中文戲劇組
1955	The Sacred Flame	心燄	Maugham, William Somerset	毛姆	UK	雷浩然/改編		1955.7.8	聖士提反女校	聖士提反女校
1956	Lady Windermere's Fan	少奶奶的扇子	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK			1956.3.16		聖士提反女校
1956	Julius Caesar	凱撒大帝	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1956.4.19	聖士提反中學	聖士提反中學
1956	Lady Windermere’s Fan	少奶奶的扇子	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK			1956.5.10-12		聖士提反女校
1956		並無虛言	Montgomery, J.			鮑漢琳/譯		1956.6.11		嶺東中學
1956	A Doll's House	傀儡家庭	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway			1956.9.28-29		港大中文學會

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1956	Tartuffe	僞君子	Molière	莫里哀	France			1956.10.20		中青會會友周
1957	Na Dne	夜店	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia			1957.1.27-28	童軍總會	港九業餘藝術人士
1957	Twelfth Night	第十二夜	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1957.2.25-26	利舞台	港大學生戲劇組
1957		並無虛言	Montgomery, J.			鮑漢琳/譯		1957.8.31-9.1	聖士提反堂	中華聖公會教友
1960	The Proposal	求婚	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia			1960.12.21	羅師	羅師專校
1961	Romeo and Juliet	羅密歐與茱麗葉	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1961.3.23-27	港大陸佑堂	港大劇團
1962	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France	趙如琳/改編	黃宗保	1962		香港業餘話劇社
1962	Julius Caesar	凱撒大帝	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1962.3.17	皇仁書院	皇仁書院
1962	A Midsummer Night's Dream	仲夏夜之夢	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1962.3.26-28	大會堂	港大話劇團
1962		人約黃昏	雅羅納耳濡目			施誼/改編		1962.7.21	中青會會所	中青劇藝社
1963		黃金迷	Molière	莫里哀	France			1963.2.24-25	青年會會所	中青劇藝社
1963	Na Dne	夜店	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia			1963.9.15-16	大會堂劇院	香港戲劇藝術學院
1963		並無虛言	Montgomery, J.			鮑漢琳/譯		1963.10.25-27	港大陸佑堂	大專戲劇組
1964		生死戀	Maugham, William Somerset	毛姆	UK		雷浩然	1964		香港業餘話劇社
1964	The Merhcant of Venice	威尼斯商人	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1964.4.2-4	大會堂劇院	聯合書院劇社
1964		人之初		瑪索·伯諾				1964.12.17-19	大會堂劇院	中青劇藝社
1965	The Sacred Flame	心燄	Maugham, William Somerset	毛姆	UK	雷浩然/改編	雷浩然	1965.3.27-28	新亞校堂	中文大學新亞書院
1965	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1965.5.6-8	大會堂音樂廳	浸會學院
1965		人間地獄				李亨/改編	王鏗、朱克、良鳴	1965.8.5-8 8.23-25 11.8-9	大會堂	香港話劇團 (業餘)
1965	A Hatful of Rain	浪子回頭	Gazzo, Michael V.	米高加索		鍾景輝/改編	雷浩然、鍾景輝	1965.9.1-3	大會堂劇院	香港業餘話劇社
1965		社會棟樑	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	李援華/改編		1965.12.28-30	大會堂音樂廳	羅師校友會
1966	A Hatful of Rain	浪子回頭	Gazzo, Michael V.	米高加索		鍾景輝/改編		1966.2.4-6	大會堂劇院	香港業餘話劇團
1966	父帰る	父歸	菊池寬			田漢/譯		1966.2.4-6		香港大學
1966	The Proposal	求婚	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia			1966.2.12	大會堂音樂廳	聯合書院
1966	The Taming of the Shrew	馴悍記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1966.4.23-24	金文泰中學禮堂	活道中心
1966		路				沈基昌/譯	馮淬汎	1966.5.29	新亞禮堂	新亞書院天主教同學會

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1966	父帰る	父歸	菊池寬			田漢/譯	李錫瑛	1966.7.20	筲箕灣官立中學禮堂	筲箕灣官立中學
1966		絞刑架下的中鋒	Cuzzani, Agustín	庫塞尼	Argentina	李亨/改編		1966.7.23-25 7.27-28 8.1-3 8.19-21 10.18-20	普慶戲院 普慶戲院 大會堂 高陞戲院	香港話劇團(業餘)
1966	The Proposal	求婚記	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia			1966.7.30-31	伊利沙伯中學	中國學生話劇組
1966	Rhinoceros	犀牛	Ionesco, Eugene	尤金·詫奧尼斯高	France		盧景文	1966.8.9-10	大會堂劇院	香港大學學生會劇社
1966	The Good Woman of Szechuan	四川賢婦	Beckett, Samuel	貝克特	UK		黎翠珍、黃清霞	1966.8.16.18-19	大會堂劇院	香港大學文學會
1966	The Imaginary Invalid	都市流行症	Molière	莫里哀	France			1966.9		太古中心
1966	The Sacred Flame	心燄	Maugham, William Somerset	毛姆	UK	雷浩然/改編	盧恩成	1966.9.10	大會堂劇院	嶺英中學校友會
1966	The Taming of the Shrew	馴悍記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1966.10.29	麥當奴道會所	女青年會職光劇社
1966	The Government-Inspector	欽差大臣	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia	鮑漢琳/改編	鮑漢琳	1966.11.19-20	大會堂音樂廳	中英學會中文戲劇組
1966	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France		黃宗保	1966.11.23-24	大會堂劇院	新亞書院戲劇學會
1966	Na Dne	夜店	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia			1966.11.29	葛院禮堂	葛量洪書院護士學校
1966		英雄?	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	李匡華、李援華/改編	卜紀生	1966.12.17-18	伊中禮堂	伊利沙伯中學戲劇社
1967	The Bald Soprano	禿頭女高音	Ionesco, Eugene	尤金·詫奧尼斯高	France			1967.1.4	聯合書院張祝珊樓	聯合書院劇社戲劇賞晚會
1967	The Glass Menagerie	玻璃動物園	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA	張鳳愛/譯	鍾景輝	1967.2.2-3	大會堂劇院	香港業餘話劇團
1967		殺嬰	山本有三						大會堂音樂廳	香港大學
1967	A View From the Bridge	橋頭遠眺	Miller, Arthur	阿瑟·密勒	USA	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1967.4.5-7	大會堂音樂廳	浸會書院
1967		並無虛言	Montgomery, J.			鮑漢琳/譯	黎覺奔	1967.5.6-7	大會堂音樂廳	中英學會中文戲劇組
1967	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France			1967.12.16-17	贊育服務處	贊育服務處
1968	Storm, The	大雷雨	Ostrovsky, Aleksandr	奧斯特羅夫斯基	Russia		陳翊湛	1968.2.5-6	拔萃女書院禮堂	拔萃女書院
1968		夢影錄	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA			1968.2.14	大會堂劇院	香港大學中文學會
1968	Happy Journey to Trenton and Camden	快樂旅程	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA		林潔儀	1968.2.25		聯合書院
1968	The Proposal	求婚	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia		王德民	1968.4.5-6	聖保羅書院禮堂	聖保羅書院戲劇欣賞晚會

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1968		生財有道	Molière	莫里哀	France		高浮生、鮑漢琳	1968.5.4-5	大會堂音樂廳	中英學會中文戲劇組
1968		靈猴魔掌		路易士柏卡			高浮生	1968.6.9	大會堂音樂廳	大專學生公社
1968		歡喜冤家	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		Patrick, Kirl	1968.6.28-29	港大校園	香港大學學生會戲劇社
1968		動物園的故事 賭徒	Gogol, Nikolai	愛德華·奧比 戈果里	Russia	莫紉蘭/改編		1968.7.22-23	大會堂劇院	羅師校友會戲劇組
1968		抉擇		威爾信			梁碧冕	1968.10.8-9,30	大會堂音樂廳	香港華人基督教聯會
1968		理想夫人	Molière	莫里哀	France		許仕仁	1968.10.21-22	大會堂劇院	港大學生會社會服務團
1969		黃金迷	Molière	莫里哀	France		盧恩成	1969.1.2-3	大會堂劇院	遠東劇藝團
1969		頸飾	神田豐德					1969.2.27-28, 3.1	皇仁中學禮堂	第二十一屆音樂節戲劇比賽
1969		頸鍊 灰闌記	神田豐德 Gazzo, Michael V.	米高加索	USA			1969.4.30	大會堂音樂廳	聖聯第一小學上午校 聖芳濟各女書院
1969		放下屠刀	星雲法師			游民德/改編		1969.5.23	大會堂音樂廳	僧伽聯合會浴佛節
1969		人之初		瑪索·伯諾			陳述	1969.6.7-8	大會堂劇院	遠東劇團
1969	A Hatful of Rain	浪子回頭	Gazzo, Michael V.	米高加索	USA	鍾景輝/改編	鍾景輝	1969.7.7-8 7.9	九龍明愛中心 大會堂音樂廳	禁毒常務委員會與國際青年服務中心
1969	King Lear	李爾王	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1969.8.3-4	大會堂劇院	港大戲劇社
1969		警察局長		佐治葛德靈		李志昂/改編	滕康寧	1969.8.16	九龍華書院禮堂	浸會學院戲劇組
1969	Na Dne	夜店	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia			1969.8.18-19	大會堂劇院	聖保羅書院
1969	A Midsummer Night's Dream	仲夏夜之夢	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1969.8.25-26	大會堂劇院	香港各校聯合表演
1969	The Sacred Flame	心燄	Maugham, William Somerset	毛姆	UK	雷浩然/改編	雷浩然、黃宗保	1969.9.3-4	大會堂劇院	世界戲劇社
1969	The Bald Soprano	禿頭女高音	Ionesco, Eugene	尤金·託奧尼斯高	France		林潔儀、顧爾言	1969.10.3-4	大會堂劇院	聯合書院劇社
1969	Pygmalion	窈窕淑女	Shaw, George Bernard		UK		徐燕王	1969.10.4	大會堂音樂廳	大專學生公社
1969	The Mikado	天皇	Gilbert and Sullivan		UK		顏益群神父	1969.10.26 10.27	九龍華仁書院 大會堂	新亞書院
1969	Happy Journey to Trenton and Camden	快樂旅程	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA			1969.11.1	大會堂音樂廳	世界戲劇社
1969	Ghosts	群鬼	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway		殷巧兒	1969.12.6-13	大會堂劇院	香港節青年戲劇週
1970	Proposal, The	求婚記	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia		殷巧兒、章經	1970.1.10	大會堂音樂廳	世界戲劇社

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1970	Beyond the Horizon	天邊外	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA		黎覺奔	1970.2.3-4	大會堂音樂廳	五劇社合演
1970	The Caucasian Chalk Circle	高加索灰蘭記	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany			1970.2.12-14	香港大學陸佑堂	香港大專戲劇學會與西洋文學會
1970	Beyond the Horizon	天邊外	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA		黎覺奔	1970.2.26-27	大會堂音樂廳	同文戲劇社
1970	The Proposal	求婚	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia			1970.3.27-30	大會堂劇院	葛量洪學院
1970	All My Sons	幼吾幼	Miller, Arthur		USA	李援華、李國聰、李國超	卜紀生	1970.4.1-2,6	大會堂劇院	羅富國教育學院
1970		第二代	Ostrovsky, Aleksandr	奧斯特羅夫斯基	Russia	章牧/改編	陳述	1970.4.10-11	大會堂劇院	遠東劇藝團
1970		社會棟樑	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	李援華/編	盧恩成	1970.5.10 6.7-8	大會堂劇院	青年會劇藝社
1970		蝴蝶夫人 何處不相逢						1970.5.18	大會堂音樂廳	浸會學院
1970		達罕尼教授	雅達摩夫				袁報華	1970.7.15-16	大會堂劇院	羅師校友會
1970	Dr. Faustus	浮士德博士的悲劇	Marlowe, Christopher	克利斯托夫·馬洛	UK		殷巧兒	1970.8.27-30	大會堂劇院	香港普及戲劇會
1970	Town, Our	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA	劉文漢/譯	鍾景輝	1970.9.21-23	大會堂音樂廳	業餘話劇社
1970	Proposal, The	求婚記	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia		殷巧兒、章經	1970.10.1	大會堂音樂廳	世界戲劇社
1970		生財有道	Molière	莫里哀	France		朱瑞棠	1970.11.28-29	大會堂音樂廳	中英學會中文戲劇組
1970	Dr. Faustus	浮士德博士的悲劇	Marlowe, Christopher	克利斯托夫·馬洛	UK		殷巧兒、汪海珊	1970.12.31-1.2	大會堂劇院	普及戲劇會
1971	The Storm	大雷雨	Ostrovsky, Aleksandr	奧特羅夫斯基	Russia		蕭仁	1971.4.2-4	大會堂劇院	青藝話劇社
1971		浮光掠影	Priestley, John Boynton	普利斯特利	UK	李援華/改編	吳健生	1971.4.19-21	大會堂音樂廳	羅富國教育學院校友會及學生會
1971	The Game of Love and Death	愛與死的搏鬥	Rolland, Romain	羅曼·羅蘭	France	徐國雄/改編	徐國雄	1971.5.7-9	大會堂劇院	佛教青年中心話劇組
1971	Na Dne	夜店	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia		嶺東導演團	1971.5.23-24	大會堂劇院	嶺東劇藝社
1971		浮光掠影(重演)	Priestley, John Boynton	普利斯特利	UK	李援華/改編	吳健生	1971.5.29-30	大會堂音樂廳	羅富國教育學院校友會
1971	The Inspector-General	巡按使	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia		鍾景輝	1971.5.31-6.2		浸會書院
1971	Escape	逃亡	Galsworthy, John	約翰·高斯華綏	UK		章經	1971.6.4-6	大會堂劇院	世界戲劇社
1971		不是冤家不聚頭	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia		龐焯林	1971.7.31	大會堂劇院	韻聲劇藝社
1971	Man with the Flower in his Mouth, The	Endgame 口裏有一朵花的男人 行刑者	Beckett, Samuel Pirandello, Luigi Arrabal, Fernando		UK Italy Spain			1971.8.5-8	大會堂劇院	香港大學戲劇學會

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		葵上	三島由紀夫							
1971	The Glass Menagerie	玻璃動物園	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA	簡婉明/譯	羔羊	1971.8.22-23	九龍明愛中心	新生戲劇社
1971	The Glass Menagerie	琉璃集	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA		梁顯明	1971.8.27-29	大會堂劇院	天青劇藝社
1971	The Fan	扇子	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy	葉君健/譯	黎覺奔	1971.10.23-25 11.7-8 12.18 12.22-23	大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協社
1971		英雄	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	李援華、李劻華/改編	蔡錫昌	1971.11.5-6	大會堂劇院	聖保羅書院戲劇組
1971	The Flies	群蠅	Sartre, Jean-Paul	沙特	France	王敬義	鍾景輝、陳有后	1971.11.7-8	大會堂劇院	中大學生會
1971	Mourning Becomes Electra	素蛾怨	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA	王敬義	鍾景輝、陳有后	1971.11.16-30	大會堂劇院	香港普及戲劇學會
1971	The Game of Love and Death	愛與死的搏鬥	Rolland, Romain	羅曼·羅蘭	France	徐國雄/改編	徐國雄	1971.12.5-6	大會堂劇院	佛教青年中心
1971	Mourning Becomes Electra	素蛾怨	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA	王敬義	鍾景輝、陳有后	1971.12.9-10	大會堂劇院	普及戲劇學會
1971	The Fan	扇子	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy	葉君健/譯		1971.12.18	西貢崇真中學	香港戲劇協社
1972	Fan, The	扇子	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy	葉君健/譯	黎覺奔	1972.2.15-16	大會堂音樂廳	香港戲劇協社
1972	The Inspector-General	欽差大臣	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia	鮑漢琳/改編		1972.4.3-4		香港天主教總堂
1972	The Doctor in Spite of Himself	妙手回春	Molière	莫里哀	France	黃澤綿/改編	盧傑群	1972.4.8	九龍明愛中心	瑪利諾青年中心影劇組
1972	Man and Superman	人與超人	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	李援華/譯	吳健生	1972.4.11-12,15	大會堂劇院	羅富國教育學院學生會
1972	Beyond the Horizon	天邊外	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA		黎覺奔	1972.4.26	大會堂音樂廳	香港戲劇協社
1972	The Sorrows of Young Werther	少年維特之煩惱	Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von	歌德	Germany	蕭輝楷/編	徐慶林	1972.5.5-7	大會堂劇院	海鷗戲劇社
1972	The Visit	專誠拜訪	Durrenmatt, Friedrich	佛德烈·杜勒馬	Switzerland		陳有后、鍾景輝	1972.7.1-2	大會堂音樂廳	崇基校友會
1972	The School for Wives	太太學堂	Molière	莫里哀	France		黎覺奔	1972.7.13-15	大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協社
1972	The Glass Menagerie	玻璃動物園	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA			1972.8.24,26	大會堂劇院	新生戲劇社
1972	父帰る	父歸	菊池寬		Japan	田漢/譯		1972.8.27	九龍太子道明愛中心禮堂	群青話劇社
1972	The Proposal	求婚	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia		胡量才	1972.9.9-10	九龍明愛中心禮堂	激流藝術社戲劇組
1972	The School for Wives	太太學堂	Molière	莫里哀	France		黎覺奔	1972.10.13-15	大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協社
1972		毒娃				莫紉蘭、蔡錫昌/譯	袁報華	1972.11.10-11	大會堂音樂廳	羅富國校友會

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1972	The Servant of Two Masters	一僕二主	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy		陳永強、梁天	1972.12.1-2	大會堂劇院	青藝業餘話劇社
1972	The School for Wives	太太學堂	Molière	莫里哀	France		黎覺奔	1972.12.23-25	大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協社
1973	Happy Journey to Trenton and Camden	快樂旅程	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA			1973.2.3-4	大會堂音樂廳	專上學生聯會「名劇欣賞」
1973	The Proposal	求婚	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia			1973.3.29	太子道明愛中心	珠海書院話劇社
1973		人的一生	Andreyev, Leonid Nikolayevich	安德烈夫	Russia			1973.4.14-15	港大陸佑堂	聖保羅書院與聖類斯中學
1973	The Caretaker	管理員	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK	黃清霞/譯	黃清霞	1973.5.9-12	大會堂劇院	天青劇藝社
1973	The Post Office	郵局	Tagore, Rabindranath	泰戈爾	India		黃允財、楊基	1973.6.9-10	大會堂劇院	普及戲劇會「獨幕劇匯演」
1973		安魂曲		巴拉·貝拉茲			黎覺奔	1973.6.26-28	大會堂音樂廳	香港戲劇藝術會
1973	Mother Courage and Her Children	沙膽大娘	Brecht, Bertolt	貝托·貝拉克	Germany		林愛惠、李碧瑩	1973.8.23-25	大會堂劇院	大學實驗劇團
1973		約會		雅魯納爾			黎永強	1973.9.26-27	大會堂劇院	藝海劇社
1973	The Devil's Disciple	魔鬼門徒	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	羅紹湘/譯	張秉權、許志強、	1973.10.13-14	大會堂劇院	致群劇社
1973	The Respectful Prostitute	可敬的妓女	Sartre, Jean-Paul	沙特	France		洪麗芳	1973.11.5-7	大會堂劇院	青藝話劇社
1973		月下花前	戴羅			黎覺奔/改編	黎覺奔、高浮生	1973.11.15-16		香港戲劇藝術學會
1973	The Good Woman of Szechuan	四川善人	Brecht, Bertolt	貝托·貝珞克	Germany	簡婉明/譯	黃馨	1973.12.9-12	大會堂劇院	香港大學戲劇學會
1973	Dangerous Corner	險角	Priestley, John Boynton		UK	莫紉蘭、蔡錫昌/譯	蔡錫昌	1973.12.28-30	大會堂劇院	羅富國校友會戲劇組
1974	Na Dne	夜店	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia		陳朝傑、何顯銳、何恨、羅本能、陳呈	1974.1.13-14	大會堂劇院	嶺東劇藝社
1974	Na Dne	夜店	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia		陳朝傑	1974.2.9-10	北角陳樹渠大會堂	北角街坊會康樂中心戲劇組
1974		天羅地網	Molière	莫里哀	France	黎覺奔/改編	黎覺奔	1974.3.18-19	大會堂劇院	香港戲劇藝術學會
1974		西子湖畔	Ostrovsky, Aleksandr	奧斯特羅夫斯基	Russia		莫德光、李文	1974.3.21-23	堅道明愛中心	新法書院
1974		梯子				馮祿德/譯	吳健生	1974.4.11-13	大會堂劇院	羅富國教育學院學生會
1974	Tartuffe	僞君子	Molière		France	黎覺奔/改編	黎覺奔、高浮生、黃柏鳴	1974.4.14	陳樹渠大會堂	香港戲劇藝術學會
1974	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France	趙如琳/改編	陳伯元、魏繼光、梁立人	1974.4.18-19	大會堂劇院	長風劇團

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1974	The Doctor in Spite of Himself	打出來的醫生	Molière	莫里哀	France		黃柏鳴、黎偉民	1974.6.7-9	大會堂劇院	青藝劇社
1974	The Doctor in Spite of Himself	a)打出來的醫生	Molière	莫里哀	France		黃柏鳴、黎偉民、黎覺奔	1974.8.23-24	北角陳樹渠大會堂	香港戲劇藝術學會, 北角街坊會與青藝業餘話劇社
	Tartuffe	b)僞君子	Molière	莫里哀	France			8.25-26		
	The School for Wives	c)太太學堂	Molière	莫里哀	France			8.27-28		
1974	Woyzek	胡石傳	Buchner, Georg	喬治·布克納	Germany		黃大釗	1974.8.23-25	大會堂劇院	大學實驗劇團
1974		浮光掠影		蒲里士雷		李援華/改編	章牧	1974.9.15-16	大會堂劇院	遠東劇藝團
1974	Death of a Salesman	推銷員之死	Miller, Arthur	阿瑟·密勒	USA	姚克/譯	麥秋	1974.11.13-16	大會堂劇院	中英劇社
1974		被出賣的搖藍曲		家赫·拉克司奈斯			孫澤泉、梁堯封	1974.12.28-30	大會堂劇院	羅富國校友會戲劇組
1975	Beyond the Horizon	天邊外	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA			1975.1.7	大會堂音樂廳	明愛醫院
1975		謊幻錄	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway			1975.1.16-18	大會堂劇院	港大學生會戲劇組
1975	Exception and the Rule	常則之外	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany			1975.1		大學實驗劇團
1975	The Just Assassins	正義之士	Camus, Albert	卡繆	France		吳健生	1975.3.29-30	香港大學陸佑堂	羅富國教育學院學生會
1975	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA		鍾景輝	1975.4.21-22	大會堂音樂廳	浸會學院劇社
1975	The Inspector-General	特派專員	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia	黃柏鳴/改編	黃柏鳴、何恨	1975.6.14-15	陳樹渠大會堂	北角街坊會
1975	The Inspector-General	特派專員	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia	黃柏鳴、黎偉民/改編	黃柏鳴、何恨	1975.8.24	大會堂劇院	青藝業餘話劇社
1975	Exception and the Rule	常則與例外	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	蔡子玲、劉天賜/譯		1975.8.28-31	大會堂劇院	大學實驗劇團
1975	All My Sons	幼吾幼	Miller, Arthur		USA	李援華/改編	陳述	1975.9.21	大會堂劇院	遠東劇藝團
1975	The Taming of the Shrew	馴悍記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		黃柏鳴、黎偉民	1975.9.21-23 10.21-23 11.21-22	大會堂劇院	青藝業餘話劇社
1975	The Just Assassins	正義之士	Camus, Albert	卡繆	France			1975.10.4-5	太子道明愛青年中心	中文大學天主教同學會戲劇組
1975	The Dumb Waiter	啞侍	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK			1975.12.24-26	大會堂劇院	港大劇社
1976	The Glass Menagerie	玻璃動物園	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA		鍾景輝	1976.1.25-28	大會堂劇院	業餘話劇社
1976	Six Characters in Search of An Author	六個尋找劇作家的劇中人	Pirandello, Luigi	皮藍德婁	Italy	徐霞村/譯	鍾錦榮、何文蔚、梁家裕	1976.3.4-7	大會堂劇院	青年會劇藝社
1976	The Taming of the Shrew	馴悍記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		黃柏鳴、黎偉民	1976.3.19	大會堂音樂廳	青藝業餘話劇社
1976		屠城後	Euripides	尤里披蒂斯	Greece		吳健生	1976.3.25-26	大會堂劇院	羅富國教育學院學生會

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1976		碧廬冤孽	James, Henry	亨利詹姆士	UK	關天芝/譯	關天芝	1976.3.30-31		浸會學院藝術系
1976	父帰る	父歸	菊池寬			田漢/譯	鄧燕萍	1976.4.22		靜宜女子中學
1976	The Storm	大雷雨	Ostrovsky, Aleksandr		Russia			1976.8.8-9	港大陸佑堂	港大戲劇學會「中學生戲劇觀摩演出」
1976	All My Sons	幼吾幼	Miller, Arthur	亞瑟·密勒	USA	李援華/改編	張清、袁報華	1976.8.21-22		樹仁學院劇社
1976	Exception and the Rule	常則與例外	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany			1976.8.24	港大陸佑堂	校協戲劇社
1976	Cross Purpose	誤會	Camus, Albert	卡繆	France		李國慶、馮偉才	1976.9.11-12	大會堂劇院	實驗室劇藝社
1976	The Threepenny Opera	三毫子歌劇	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany		林愛蕙	1976.11.26-27	大會堂演奏廳	大學實驗劇團
1976	Exception and the Rule	常則與例外	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany			1976.11.28	新光戲院	劇協劇團
1977		選婚		費特歷郎士杜				1977.1.31-2.8	希爾頓酒店	
1977	Exception and the Rule	常則與例外	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	集體改編	張棪祥、李啓持	1977.6.19	新光戲院	力行劇社
1977	The Skin of Our Teeth	大難不死	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA		麥秋	1977.8.12-14 9.9-11	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1977	The Uncle Tom's Cabin	黑奴	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	史杜威夫人	USA	李援華/改編	袁立勳	1977.8.26-28 9.23-25	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1977	Death of a Salesman	推銷員之死	Miller, Arthur	阿瑟·密勒	USA		程小豪	1977.10.29	英皇道學友社	藝園協會
1977	Inspector-General, The	巡按使	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia		鍾景輝	1977.11.10,19	大會堂音樂廳	麗的電視藝員
1977	The Caucasian Chalk Circle	灰蘭記	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	楊立明、何國道、黎秋華、李耀文	林愛惠	1977.12.2-4	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1977	Antigone	禁葬令	Sophocles	索發克里斯	Greece	袁立勳/改編	袁立勳	1977.12.22-23	大會堂演奏廳	香港話劇團
1977	Men without Shadows	沒有影子的人	Sartre, Jean-Paul	沙特	France	羅師戲劇組/譯	莫紉蘭	1977.12.25-27	大會堂劇院	羅師戲劇組
1977 1978	Hamlet	王子復仇記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	何文匯	何文匯	1977.12.30-1978.1.1 1978.1.19-22	大會堂劇院 大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1978	The Caucasian Chalk Circle	灰蘭記	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	楊立明、何國道、黎秋華、李耀文	林愛惠	1978.1.13-15	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1978		戰場上的野餐	Arrabal, Fernando		Spain			1978.1.26-27	藝術中心小劇場	高風劇團、青藝劇社、協進劇團、大學實驗劇團、浸會劇藝研究社
1978	Antigone	禁葬令	Sophocles	索發克里斯	Greece		袁立勳	1978.1.28	柴灣社區中心	香港話劇團

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								1978.1.29	九龍華仁書院	
1978	Rashomon	羅生門	Ryunosuke	芥川龍之介	Japan	鍾景輝/譯		1978.2.17-19	藝術中心小劇場	協進劇團
1978		安樂鄉的一日	Ryunosuke	芥川龍之介	Japan	陳焯標/改編	陳焯標	1978.2.26-27	藝術中心	港大劇社
1978		囚				方競生/譯	方競生	1978.3.25-26	陸佑堂	致群劇社
1978		約會	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA			1978.4.4-7	藝術中心劇場	青藝劇社
1978	Dr. Faustus	浮士德博士的悲劇	Marlowe, Christopher	基斯杜化·馬盧	UK		麥秋	1978.4.21-23	大會堂演奏廳	香港話劇團
1978	The Would-be Gentlemen	醉心貴族的小市民	Molière	莫里哀	France		黎覺奔	1978.5.19-21, 6.16-18	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1978		人之初		瑪索·伯諾			盧恩成	1978.7.10-11	大會堂劇院	荃灣青年劇藝社
1978	Happy Journey to Trenton and Camden	快樂旅程	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA			1978.7.13-14	藝術中心	協和書院
1978	The Doctor in Spite of Himself	打出來的大夫	Molière	莫里哀	France			1978.9.17-18	藝術中心演奏廳	新一代戲劇組
	Government-Inspector, The	特派專員	Gogol, Nikolai	戈果里	Russia					
1978	Long Day's Journey into Night	長路漫漫入夜深	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA	黎翠珍/譯		1978.9.19-27	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1978	The Miracle Worker	創奇者	Keller, Helen	凱倫·海勒	USA			1978.10.6-9	藝術中心壽臣劇場	浸會劇社
1978	Picnic	狂戀	Inge, William	威廉·英奇	USA		袁報華	1978.11.6-9	藝術中心	青藝業餘話劇社
1978	A Midsummer Night's Dream	仲夏夜之夢	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1978.11.10-11	藝術中心	理工劇社
1978	The Little Prince,	小王子	Saint-Exupery, Antoine de	安東·埃修伯理	France	白耀燦/改編	余約瑟	1978.12.3	大會堂演奏廳	香港話劇團
1978	Equus	馬	Shaffer, Peter	彼德·舒化	UK	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1978.12.22-24	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1979								1979.1.5-7,19-20		
1979	A Tale of Two Cities	碧血芳魂「雙城記」	Dickens, Charles	查理士·狄更斯	UK			1979.1.9-11	藝術中心壽臣劇院	港大學生會戲劇社
1979		假面(英語演出)	三島由紀夫			王守謙/改編 簡婉明、陳清橋/譯	羅國	1979.1.12-16	藝術中心	藝術中心及大學實驗劇團主辦
1979	Medea	美狄亞	Euripides		Greece			1979.2.17-18	大會堂演奏廳	中文大學戲劇社
1979	Macbeth	弒君記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	周勇平、畢浩明/譯	周勇平	1979.3.16-18	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
								1979.3.30-4.1		
1979		舞會	阿努爾				徐廣林	1979.3.22-23	大會堂劇院	青雲話劇團
1979	The Centre-Forward	中鋒	Cuzzani, Agustín	奧古斯丁·庫塞古	Argentina	朱克/改編	朱克	1979.6.7-10,21-24	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團

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1979		告密者	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	潘志誠、林亞隆/譯	潘志誠、林亞隆	1979.6.15-17	藝術中心小劇場	力行劇社
1979	Tartuffe	僞君子	Molière	莫里哀	France			1979.6.19	落山道球場	市政局娛樂事務組及香港電台合辦諧劇晚會
1979		不應發生在老板身上的趣事		瑪利端納				1979.6.23	富麗華酒店	香港秘書會
1979	The Miracle Worker	創奇者	Gibson, William	威廉·基遜	USA/Canada	黃敏冰、陳耀雄、李秀枝、吳子山/譯	鍾景輝	1979.8.16-19,9.19-22,28-30	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1979		社會棟樑	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	李援華/改編		1979.10.15-16	大會堂劇院	遠東劇藝團
1979	Our Town	故鄉	Wilder, Thornton	韋爾德？	USA			1979.11.7-9	藝術中心小劇場	國際聯校戲劇團
1979	Beggar's Opera, The/Threepenny Opera	三分錢歌劇	Gay, John/Bertolt Brecht	約翰·蓋爾/布萊希特	UK/Germany	John Ashton/改編	Walford, Glen	1979.12.5-7	大會堂劇院	中英劇團
1979		飛越瘋人院	Wasserman, Dale	戴爾·華沙文	USA	許遠光、方競生、張麗影/譯	張秉權、方競生	1979.12.15	大會堂劇院	致群劇社
1979	Saint Joan	聖女貞德	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	簡婉明/譯	麥秋	1979.12.22-25	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1979	Rhinoceros	犀牛	Ionesco, Eugene	尤金·託奧尼斯高	France			1979.12.28-29	藝術中心	理工學院劇社
1979-1980		告密者	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	潘志誠、林亞隆/譯	李啓持、周夢思	1979.12.31-1980.1.1	香港藝術中心小劇場	力行劇社及內外劇社
1979-1980	The Merchant of Venice	威尼斯商人	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		Walford, Glen	1979-1980	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團

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1979-1980		告密者	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	潘志誠、林亞隆/譯	李啓持、周夢思	1979.12.31-1980.1.1	香港藝術中心小劇場	力行劇社及內外劇社
1979-1980	The Merchant of Venice	威尼斯商人	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		Walford, Glen	1979-1980	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團
1980		飛越瘋人院	Wasserman, Dale	戴爾·華沙文	USA	許遠光、方競生、張麗影/譯	張秉權、方競生	1980.1.1-2	藝術中心壽臣劇院	致群劇社
1980	Saint Joan	聖女貞德	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	簡婉明/譯	麥秋	1980.1.9-13 1.22-25	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1980	Happy Journey to Trenton and Camden	快樂旅程	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA			1980.1.2-4	大會堂劇院	葛量洪師範
1980	A Streetcar Named Desire	慾望號街車	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA			1980.1.4-6	藝術中心壽臣劇院	香港大學劇社
1980	School for Clowns	小丑學校	Waechter, Friedrich Karl	法迪加華察	Germany	Ken Cambell/譯	Walford, Glen	1980.1.24-27	大會堂劇院	中英劇團
1980	The Respectful Prostitute	可敬的娼妓	Sartre, Jean-Paul	沙特	France		譚德強、吳學禮	1980.2.1-4	藝術中心小劇場	驚蟄劇社
1980		蠢貨	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia			1980.3.1-2	大會堂演奏廳	青年會劇藝社
1980	A Doll's House	娜拉	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	葉連璧		1980.3.20-22	藝術中心壽臣劇院	凱旋音樂藝術中心
1980	West Side Story	夢斷城西	Laurents, Arthur	阿瑟·羅禮士	USA	張之玨/改編	鍾景輝	1980.4.2-5 5.20-22 6.4-8 6.18-22	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
1980	The Odd Couple	天生一對	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	羅卡/改編	汪海珊	1980.4.2-6	藝術中心藝術劇院	海豹劇團
1980		斯巴頓之夏天	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA	司徒少貞、吳素芳、陳耀雄/譯 司徒少貞、陳耀雄/改編	司徒少貞、陳耀雄	1980.5.13		內外劇社
1980	A Man For all Seasons	四季人	Bolt, Robert	羅拔·寶德	UK	蔡錫昌/譯	蔡錫昌	1980.5.15		香港電台話劇團
1980	Marriage Force	逼婚	Molière	莫里哀	France	李健吾/譯	黃鍵	1980.5.18		遠東劇藝社
1980	The Lover, The Dumb Waiter	情人/啞侍	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK	周蓓、簡婉明/譯	徐詠璇/莫錦屏	1980.7.2-6	大會堂演奏廳	香港話劇團
1980	Romeo and Juliet	羅密歐與茱麗葉	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	鮑皓昭/譯	Glen	1980.7.31-8.10	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1980		逼婚	Molière		France			1980.8.5-7	香港大會堂高庭演奏廳	青藝劇社
1980	Riders to the Sea	海上騎士	Synge, John M.	約翰辛格	UK			1980.8.16-20	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中文校外進修部戲劇藝術課程

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	Exception and the Rule	例外與常規	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany					
	Augustus Does His Bit	奧古斯丁都盡了本份	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK					
	A Streetcar Named Desire	慾望號街車	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA					
	The Caucasian Chalk Circle	高加索灰蘭記	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany					
	Death of a Salesman	推銷員之死	Miller, Arthur	阿瑟·密勒	USA					
1980	Witness for the Prosecution	控方證人	Christie, Agatha	亞喜泰·真莉絲蒂	UK	盧景文	盧景文; 蔡錫昌(執行導演)	1980.9.10-14, 24-28	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1980	Rashomon	羅生門	Ryunosuke	芥川龍之介	Japan	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1980.10.16-17	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
1980	Exception and the Rule	常則與例外	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany			1980.11.14-16	藝術中心小劇場	理工劇社
1980	Twelfth Night	第十二夜	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1980.11.22-23	藝術中心演奏廳	新一代戲劇組
		史嘉本的詭計	Molière	莫里哀	France					
1980		蠢貨	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia			1980.11.29-30	藝術中心小劇場	一零五劇團
1980	Shtockerlock and Milipilli	火車歷險記	Ludwig, Volker	路德維格	Germany	張灼祥	黃清霞	1980.12.24, 26-28	藝術中心壽臣劇院	海豹劇團
1980-1981	Animal Farm	萬牲園	Ashton, John and Glen Walford	約翰舒頓、格蓮華霍	UK	Roylift/譯	Walford, Glen	1980.12.31-1981.1.3 1981.1.9-10	伊利沙伯體育館 荃灣大會堂	中英劇團
1980-1981	Romeo and Juliet	羅密歐與茱麗葉	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		Walford, Glen	1980-1981	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團
1981	Ah, Wilderness!	荒野	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA	鄒淑蘋	蔡錫昌	1981.1.1-4	大會堂演奏廳	香港話劇團
1981	An Enemy of the People	公敵	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	麥秋、張可堅/譯	麥秋	1981.1.10-17	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1981	Wozzek	胡石傳	Buchner, Georg	布赫納	Germany			1981.1.7-19	藝術中心壽臣劇院	香港大學劇社
1981		龍		尤金·史沙華茲			陳焯標、蕭偉強、于偉雄	1981.1.16-17	藝術中心小劇場	雅林話劇社
1981	Death of a Salesman	推銷員之死	Miller, Arthur	阿瑟·密勒	USA		盧恩成	1981.2.11	荃灣大會堂	荃灣青年劇藝社
1981		胡鬧小子	Hachfield, Rainer	雷尼·赫菲德			Glen	1981.2.16-21	大會堂劇院	中英劇團
1981	Getting Out	鐵窗	Norman, Marsha	瑪莎·羅曼	USA	李耀文/譯	鍾景輝	1981.3.5-22	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1981	Man Equals Man	人等於人	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	陳樓容/譯	黃清霞	1981.3.18-22	藝術中心壽臣劇院	海豹劇團
1981	Scapino	史卡賓諾	Dunlop, Frank and Jim Dale	法蘭鄧立、詹道爾	UK		Walford, Glen	1981.3.24-28	大會堂劇院	中英劇團
1981	Augustus Does His Bit	奧古斯丁都盡了本份	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK			1981.4.20	荃灣大會堂	遠東劇藝團

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1981	Pinocchio	木偶奇遇記	Collodi, Carlo	科羅狄	Italy	莫鳳儀、麥潔玲/改編	莫鳳儀、黃冠章	1981.4.29-5.3	藝術中心壽臣劇院	現代劇社
1981	Rashomon	羅生門	Ryunosuke	芥川龍之介	Japan	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1981.5.27-28	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
1981	The Right Place	那地方	Campton, David	大衛·坎頓	UK	周夢思、潘志誠、鄭文亮/譯	凌嘉勤、鄭文亮	1981.6.12-13	香港藝術中心小劇場	力行劇社
1981		幽會		泰金頓(美國作家)	USA		鍾錫鴻	1981.7.28	大會堂劇院	沙田官立中學
1981		無路可出	Sartre, Jean-Paul	沙特	France		賴偉棠	1981.8.1	大會堂劇院	實驗室劇藝社
1981		未完成的戲劇表演		符·柳畢莫娃		莊潤祥/改編	莊潤祥	1981.8.2	大會堂劇院	集思劇社
1981	嬰兒殺戮	殺嬰	山本有三		Japan		談浩文	1981.8.2	大會堂劇院	華人文員協會
1981	The Last Leaf	最後一片籐葉	O'Henry	奧亨利	USA	司馬心/改編	徐廣林	1981.8.7	大會堂劇院	香港青雲話劇團
1981	The Virgin Spring	處女泉	Isaksson, Ulla	烏拉克·伊薩克遜	Sweden		汪紹河	1981.8.11	藝術中心壽臣劇院	面譜劇團
1981	Old Times	當年	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK	黎翠珍/譯	黃清霞	1981.8.21-23	大會堂劇院	海豹劇團
1981	How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying	登龍有術	Burrows, Abe	阿比巴路士	USA	鍾景輝	鍾景輝	1981.8.25-30	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
1981	Tartuffe	僞君子	Molière	莫理哀	France			1981.8.29	藝術中心壽臣劇院	藝臻社
1981		奇相會 強迫的婚姻	Houghton, William Stanley Molière	史丹利·赫夫頓 莫里哀	UK France		葉燕群 胡玉琴	1981.9.3-5	藝術中心劇場	青年會劇藝社
1981	Galileo	伽里略	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany		袁立勳、陳載澧	1981.9.18-20	藝術中心壽臣劇院	生活劇團
1981	The Right Place	那地方	Campton, David	大衛·坎頓	UK	周夢思、潘志誠、鄭文亮/譯	凌嘉勤、鄭文亮	1981.10.3-4	香港藝術中心小劇場	力行劇社
1981	Wet Paint	油漆未乾 (國語話劇)	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France		黎覺奔	1981.12.1-2	伊利沙伯體育館	戲劇藝術學會
1981	Fanshen	翻身	Hinton, William	威廉·韓丁	USA	周勇平/譯	周勇平	1981.12.3-11	藝術中心小劇場	協進劇團
1981	Whose Life is it Anyway?	生殺之權	Clark, Brian	白賴仁·克拉克	UK	黎翠珍/譯	劉澤林	1981.12.11-20	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1981	School for Clowns	糊塗學堂	Waechter, Friedrich Karl	弗德烈·韋茲特	Germany	周蓓/譯	黃清霞	1981.12.24-27	藝術中心壽臣劇院	海豹劇團
1981	The Crucible	熔爐	Miller, Arthur	阿瑟·密勒	USA			1981.12.29-31	藝術中心壽臣劇院	港大劇社
1981-1982	Drink the Mercury	水銀染污	Holman, David	大衛·荷曼	Australia	鮑漢琳/譯	Johnston, David	1981-1982	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團
	City Sugar	都市甜心	Poliakoff, Stephen	史提芬·普利亞哥夫	UK		Johnston, David		學校巡迴演出	

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1982	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France		黎覺奔	1982.1.17-18	元朗聿修堂	戲劇藝術學會
1982	Alice in the Wonderland	愛麗斯漫遊仙境	Carroll, Lewis		UK			1982.1.23,27-28	藝術中心	生活話劇團
1982	The Taming of the Shrew	馴悍記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1982.2.28-3.11	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1982	Chips	頑皮機械人				Johnston, David/改編 徐有梅/譯	Johnston, David	1982.2.10-13	大會堂劇院	中英劇團
1982	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France		黎覺奔	1982.2.17-18	元朗聿修堂	戲劇藝術學會
1982	The Physicists	物理學家	Durrenmatt, Friedrich	杜倫馬特	Switzerland			1982.2.22-26	藝術中心劇場	面譜劇團
1982	The School for Wives	太太學堂	Molière	莫里哀	France		陳岳忠	1982.3.7	荃灣大會堂	遠東劇藝團
1982	The Servant of Two Masters	一僕二主	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy	張可堅/譯	George, Colin	1982.3.13-16	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1982	A Man for All Seasons	四季人	Bolt, Robert	羅拔·寶德	UK		蔡錫昌	1982.3.18-20	中文大學邵逸夫堂	鯤鵬劇團
1982	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France		莫德光、黎覺奔	1982.3.19-20	聖約翰書院禮堂	聖約翰書院
1982	The Fan	扇子	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy		黎覺奔	1982.3.20	萬仁書院禮堂	萬仁書院劇社
1982	Death of a Salesman	推銷員之死	Miller, Arthur	阿瑟·密勒	USA			1982.3.27-28	藝術中心壽臣劇院	理工學生會劇社
1982		殺嬰	山本有三		Japan			1982.3.27-28	窩打老道女青柏顏露斯會所	浪濤劇社、第二劇團
1982		父歸 女才子	菊池寬 Molière	莫里哀	France	田漢/譯	溫誌鵬 黃煥全	1982.3.28	上水鳳溪中學禮堂	北區文藝協會
1982	Macbeth	弒君記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		Glen	1982.5.1-5	大會堂劇院	中英劇團
1982	The Physicists	物理學家	Durrenmatt, Friedrich	杜倫馬特	Switzerland		盧偉力	1982.6.2	大專會堂	浸會學院戲劇社
1982	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA		陳應杰	1982.6.21-22	大會堂劇院	羅富國教育學院
1982	The Seagull	海鷗	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia	焦菊隱/譯 白耀燦/改編	周采芹	1982.6.25-7.3	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1982		蠢貨	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia			1982.7.10	藝術中心小劇場	浪濤劇社
1982		戰場上的野餐	Arrabal, Fernando	法蘭度·亞里布	Spain		羅幗麗	1982.7.15	大會堂劇院	基智中學
1982		嬰兒殺戮	山本有三		Japan		侯雪媚	1982.7.22		裘錦秋英文書院
1982	The Sacrifice	犧牲	Tagore, Rabindranath	泰戈爾	India	陳啓源/改編	陳啓源	1982.7.23	大會堂劇院	荃灣青年劇藝社
1982		再見蝴蝶		雪梨絲蒂、蕾斯班娣		莫紉蘭/譯	莫紉蘭	1982.7.24	大會堂劇院	羅富國校友會戲劇組
1982	Augustus Does His Bit	奧古斯都盡了本分	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK		徐偉雄	1982.7.24	大會堂劇院	海豹劇藝會

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1982		百年之孤寂	Márquez, Gabriel García	加比奧·加西亞·馬蓋斯	Columbia	進念.二十面體/改編		1982.7.24	大會堂劇院	進念二十面體
1982		戰場上的野餐	Arrabal, Fernando	法蘭度·亞里布	Spain	袁可禮、祁慧玲/譯	袁可禮	1982.7.29	大會堂劇院	僞人社
1982		一個善良的女人		亞諾爾德·彭內特			江紹河	1982.7.29	大會堂劇院	遠東劇藝團
1982	Stronger than Superman	勝過超人	Kift, Roy	基夫特	UK	徐詠璇/譯	Kolneder, Wolfgang	1982.8.5	置地廣場	中英劇團
1982	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA	湯新楣、劉文漢/譯	鍾景輝	1982.8.10-19	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1982	The Fantasticks	愛海高飛	Jones, Tom and Harvey Schmidt	璟斯·施米特	USA	簡婉明、周蓓/譯	黃清霞	1982.8.11-12	荃灣大會堂	海豹劇團
1982		幽會		美泰金東		庸人/譯		1982.9.17	藝術中心小劇場	藝臻劇社
1982	Agamenon	亞格曼農	Aeschylus	艾斯奇勒	Greece	John Lewin/譯	George, Colin	1982.10.1-4	大會堂劇院	中英劇團
1982	Elephant Man	象人	Pomerance, Bernard	伯納·龐美倫斯	USA	陳耀雄、關展博、黃敏冰/譯	鍾景輝	1982.10.14-18	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1982		啞妻	東朵				麥綺雲	1982.10.17	上水北區會堂	北區文藝協進會
1982		俏秘書	Grass, Günter Wilhelm	威廉格拉斯	Germany			1982.10.22-11.4	希爾頓酒大禮堂	希爾頓酒店
1982	Wolf Boy	狼童	Charlton, Peter	彼德查爾	Australia	鮑漢琳/譯	Chapman, Roger	1982.10.27-	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團
1982	Prisoner of Second Avenue	花廳	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	陳慶嘉、羅卡/改編	羅卡	1982.11.19	中文大學邵逸夫堂	海豹劇團
1982	Elephant Man	象人	Pomerance, Bernard	伯納·龐美倫斯	USA	關展博、陳耀雄、黃敏冰/譯	鍾景輝	1982.11.24-30	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1982	Room Service	房間服務	Boretz, Allen and John Murray	阿倫波里茲、約翰麥來	USA	陳鈞潤/譯	蔡錫昌	1982.12.3-5	中大邵逸夫堂	中大員生
1982	Look Back in Anger	憤怒的回顧	Osborne, John	奧斯本	UK			1982.12.3-6	大會堂劇院	英國伯明翰劇團
	A Man for All Seasons	四季人	Bolt, Robert	羅拔·保羅	UK			12.9-12		
1982	Anna Christie	安娜克莉絲蒂	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA			1982.12.4-5	藝術中心小劇場	鴻鵠劇社
1982	Man of La Mancha	武士英魂	Wasserman, Dale	戴爾·華沙文	USA	許遠光、何國靖/譯	張秉權、傅月美、 白耀燦	1982.12.19	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	致群劇社
								12.24-26	大會堂劇院	
1982	A Bucket of Water	一桶水	Ludwig, Volker	路德·維格	Germany	祈戈烈、徐詠璇/譯		1982.12.25-27	藝術中心小劇場	海豹劇團
1983								1983.1.1-2		

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1982-1983	Of Mice And Men	人鼠之間	Steinbeck, John		USA	Harley, Michael	Harley, Michael	1982-1983	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團
1982-1983		桃紅鞋	Donleavy, James Patrick	唐利菲	USA		Harley, Michael	1982-1983		中英劇團
1983	《潘奇托·賈薩萊斯的故事》	潘奇洛		奧斯瓦爾多·德拉貢			吳家禧	1983		赫墾坊劇團
1983	Death of a Salesman	推銷員之死	Miller, Arthur	亞瑟·密勒	USA	姚克/譯 楊世彭/改編	楊世彭	1983.1.15-19	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
1983	The Proposal	求婚	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia	黃婉芬/改編	陳炳釗	1983.1.17	中大邵逸夫堂	新亞書院
1983		報恩	芥川龍之介		Japan	莫唏/改編	吳家禧	1983.1.21-23	藝術中心小劇場	赫墾坊劇團
1983	Waiting for Godot	等待果陀	Beckett, Samuel	貝克特	UK	陳麗音、凌嘉勤/譯	陳麗音、凌嘉勤	1983.1.21-23	藝術中心演奏廳	力行劇社
1983	The Caucasian Chalk Circle	高加索灰蘭記	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany			1983.1.24-25	荃灣大會堂	香港大學劇社
1983	Elephant Man	象人	Pomerance, Bernard	伯納·龐美倫斯	USA	陳耀雄、關展博、黃敏冰/譯	鍾景輝	1983.2.23-28	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1983		強人		史特林				1983.3		新一代戲劇組
1983	Wolf Boy Stronger than Superman	狼童 勝過超人	Charlton, Peter Kift, Roy	查爾頓 基夫特	Australia UK	鮑漢琳/譯 徐詠璇/譯		1983.3.5	聖華小學 主風小學	中華劇團
1983	A Bucket of Water	一桶水	Ludwig, Volker	路德維格	Germany	祈戈烈, 徐詠璇/譯		1983.3.6	安定村友愛社區中心	海豹劇團
1983	King Lear	李爾王	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	黎翠珍/譯	黃清霞	1983.3.8-12	大會堂劇院	海豹劇團
1983	The School for Wives	太太學堂	Molière	莫里哀	France			1983.3.14-15	大會堂劇院	遠東劇藝團
1983	King Lear	李爾王	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	黎翠珍/譯	黃清霞	1983.3.19-20	荃灣大會堂	海豹劇團
1983	Ah, Wilderness!	兒子十七歲	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA		蔡錫昌	1983.3.20-26	中大邵逸夫堂	鯤鵬劇團暨中大同學
1983		啞妻	東朵			劉小慧/譯		1983.3.20	粉嶺新工業中學禮堂	北區文藝協進會
1983	Wolf Boy Stronger than Superman	狼童 勝過超人	Charlton, Peter Kift, Roy	彼德查頓 基夫特	Australia UK	鮑漢琳/譯 徐詠璇/譯	Chapman, Roger Kolneder, Wolfgang	1983.3.26 4.1	英皇佐治五世公園 摩士公園	中英劇團
1983		不可抗力	Pielmeier, John	約翰·比爾米亞	USA		約伯.史圖亞	1983.4.5	大會堂演奏廳	演藝劇團
1983		驚變		科來斯特		戴羅/改編	葉獲銘	1983.4.9	荃灣大會堂	躍進劇團
1983	Happy Journey to Trenton and Camden	快樂旅程	Wilder, Thornton		USA	毛俊輝/譯	鍾景輝	1983.4.18	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
1983	The Zoo Story	動物園的故事	Albee, Edward	愛爾比	USA	黎翠珍/譯	黃清霞	1983.4.19-23	藝術中心壽臣劇院	海豹劇團

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	Icarus' Mother	玩火	Shepard, Sam	森薛柏	USA	徐詠璇/譯	徐詠璇			
1983	Amadeus	莫扎特之死	Shaffer, Peter	彼德·舒化	UK	陳載澧、張曼儀/譯	鍾景輝	1983.4.30-5.9	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1983		啞妻	東朵			劉小慧/譯		1983.5.1	修頓球場	香港電台話劇組
1983	Na Dne	夜店	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia	鍾志明/改編	鍾志明	1983.5.29	九龍明愛中心	伊青劇社
1983	Bus Stop	巴士站	Inge, William	威廉·英季	USA	黃浩義/譯	黃浩義	1983.5.31-6.5	藝術中心演奏廳	海豹劇團
1983		啞妻	東朵			劉小慧/譯	麥綺雲	1983.6.5	大埔社區中心	北區戲劇社
1983		幽會	美泰金東			庸人/譯	梁時傑	1983.6.5	大埔社區中心	荃灣荃青劇藝社
1983	The Servant of Two Masters	聰明伙記笨事頭 Clever Servant Stupid Master	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy	黃浩義/譯	George, Colin	1983.6.11-12	元朗聿修堂	中英劇團
1983	Man of La Mancha	武士英魂	Wasserman, Dale	戴爾·華沙文	USA	許遠光、何國靖/譯	張秉權、白耀燦、 傅月美	1983.6.14-15	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	致群劇社
1983	Nineteen Eighty-Four	一九八四	Orwell, George	佐治奧威爾	UK	勞天穎、黎秀薇、黃佩瑤/譯	陳應杰	1983.6.15-17	大會堂劇院	羅富國教育學院
1983	Bedroom Farce	閨房樂	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK	海滴/譯	鍾景輝	1983.6.22-26	大專會堂	聯肇有限公司
1983	The Visit	專誠拜訪	Durrenmatt, Friedrich	迪倫馬特	Switzerland			1983.6.24,26-27	中大邵逸夫堂	學聯戲劇組
1983	Hedda Gabler	海達·蓋伯樂	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	高天恩/譯	楊世彭	1983.7.2-10	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1983	Riders to the Sea	戰場上的野餐 海上騎士 手段	Arrabal, Fernando Synge, John M. Brecht, Bertolt	約翰米蘭頓辛治 法蘭度阿拉貝	Spain UK Germany	鍾炳霖/譯	鍾炳霖 鍾炳霖 鍾炳霖	1983.7.2-4	藝術中心小劇場	海豹劇團
1983		狂流	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA		嚴皓	1983.7.22-26	藝術中心壽臣劇院	浩采製作公司
1983	Room Service	房間服務	Boretz, Allen and John Murray	約翰麥來、阿倫波里茲	USA	陳鈞潤/譯	孔伯倫	1983.7.23-24	荃灣大會堂	荃灣青年劇藝社
1983		蘋果樹	Taylor, Cecil Philip		UK	鄭文亮、潘志誠/譯	彭杏英、古美珠	1983.7.27	大會堂劇院	五育中學
1983		戴亞王		海爾曼·蘇特曼		上葵涌官立工業中學戲劇學會/改編	陳國章、潘淑芬	1983.7.30	大會堂劇院	上葵涌官立工業中學
1983	都市流行病	裝腔作勢	Molière	莫里哀	France		陳月霞、張景成	1983.7.30	大會堂劇院	地利亞修女紀念中學
1983		水				Mr Ronald Conception/改編 周敏明/譯	Mr Ronald Conception	1983.7.31	大會堂劇院 大會堂劇院	玫瑰崗中學

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1983	The Dumb Waiter	啞使	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK	袁可禮/譯	沈秀貞	1983.8.1	大會堂劇院	僞人社
1983		牽紅記	Wilder, Thornton	懷爾德	USA	張鯨志/改編	張珮玉	1983.8.2	大會堂劇院	青喬劇社
1983		雁寺	水上勉		Japan	柯森耀/譯 林學強/改編	林學強	1983.8.3	大會堂劇院 大會堂劇院	面譜劇團
1983		地設一雙	Simon, Neil		USA	劉錫賢、周偉強/譯	劉錫賢	1983.8.4,7	大會堂劇院	修明劇場
1983	Before Breakfast The Typists	早餐之前 打字員	O'Neill, Eugene Schisgal, Murray	尤金·奧尼爾 希斯高爾	USA USA	林慧儀/譯 林慧儀/譯	林潔儀 林潔儀	1983.7.27-31	藝術中心演奏廳	海豹劇團
1983		幽會	美泰金東					1983.9.18	荃灣大會堂	荃青劇社
1983	Sunshine Boys, The	鬥氣冤家	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	譯	羅卡	1983.9.22-24		「美國劇季」
1983	The Glass Menagerie	玻璃動物園	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA	簡婉明/譯	鍾炳霖	1983.10.19-22	藝術中心演奏廳	「美國劇季」
1983		依索		G.菲格雷多		陳顒翻/譯	黎覺奔	1983.12.15-16	九龍高山劇場	香港戲劇藝術學會
1983-1984	Julius Caesar	凱撒大帝	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		Eaton, Bob	1983-1984	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團
1984	Othello	奧賽羅(片段)	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		羅靜雯	1984	高山劇場(露天演出)	致群劇社
1984	The Dumb Waiter	啞侍	Pinter, Harold		UK		李志文	1984		赫墾坊劇團
1984	台圍身	沙灘		塞爾希奧·博達諾維克			吳家禧	1984		赫墾坊劇團
1984	Exception and the Rule	公平與法則	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany			1984		彩虹劇社
1984	The Little Prince	小王子	Saint-Exupery, Antoine de		France			1984		彩虹劇社
1984	Augustus Does His Bit	奧古斯都斯盡了本份	Shaw, George Bernard		UK			1984		彩虹劇社
1984	The Merchant of Venice	威尼斯商人	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1984.1.24-29	高山劇場	香港話劇團
1984	The Birthday Party	生日派對	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK	張可堅/譯	George, Colin	1984.2.7-14	藝術中心演奏廳	中英劇團
1984	Waiting for Godot	等待果陀	Beckett, Samuel	貝克特	UK	陳麗音、凌嘉勤/譯	陳麗音、凌嘉勤	1984.3.10-11	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	力行劇社
1984	Marat/Sade	馬拉/沙德	Weiss, Peter	彼得·韋斯	Germany	陳載澧、吳清輝/譯	鍾景輝	1984.3.14-18	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
1984	The Royal Hunt of the Sun	獵日記	Shaffer, Peter	彼得·舒化	UK	鮑漢琳/譯	George, Colin	1984.3.21	灣仔新伊館	中英劇團
1984		雲來客棧	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia	鍾志明/改編	霍沛雄	1984.3.25	上水北區大會堂	北區文藝協進會
1984		鬼馬玻璃鞋	Lillington, Kenneth		UK	羅燕萍、岑慧嫻/譯	李偉強	1984.4.18-9	中文大學邵逸夫堂	致群劇社

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1984	The Merchant of Venice	威尼斯商人	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1984.5.1-10	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1984	The Little Prince	小王子	Saint-Exupery, Antoine de	安東·埃修伯理	France	何文蔚/改編	何文蔚	1984.6.2-5	大會堂高座演奏廳	香港話劇團
1984	The Importance of Being Earnest	不可兒戲 (國粵語演出)	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK	余光中/譯	楊世彭	1984.6.21-30	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1984	Red Cross	紅十字 你搵黃大仙? 女人,女人	Shepard, Sam	森薛柏 何魯維茲 美瑾泰莉	USA		羅卡 黃清霞 黃清霞	1984.6.23-24	藝術中心演奏廳	海豹劇團「外百老匯戲劇」
1984		一個明朗的早晨		甘代洛兄弟			余炎坤	1984.7.8	大埔社區中心禮堂	大埔伯裘英文書院
1984		第二夢		巴蕾詹姆士		洪深/改編	陳應杰	1984.7.11-13	大會堂劇院	羅富國教育學院學生會
1984	A View from the Bridge	長橋遠望	Miller, Arthur	亞瑟·米勒	USA	黎翠珍/譯	黃清霞	1984.7.28-29	荃灣大會堂	海豹劇團
1984	Donkey Work	驢老爺的旅程	Goss, Bernard	高本納	UK	黃美蘭/譯	黃美蘭	1984.7.28	元朗聿修堂	中英劇團
1984		迫「婦」跳牆	Fo, Dario	達利奧·霍	Italy	梁梓華、張慧心	馬淑婷、李伊迪	1984.7.25	大會堂劇院	嘉諾撒聖心書院
1984		潘奇洛		奧斯瓦爾多·德拉貢			殷玉梅、溫裕紅	1984.7.27	大會堂劇院	基智中學
1984		回歸	Camus, Albert		France	李國威/改編	李國威	1984.7.30	大會堂劇院	香港理工學院學生會戲劇社
1984		一個人在途上		郁達夫		陳偉通/改編	陳偉通	1984.7.31	大會堂劇院	潔萌劇藝團
1984		他如何欺騙她的丈夫	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK		李榮健	1984.8.1	大會堂劇院	工業福音團契
1984	The Little Gentleman	小紳士	Udoff, Yale M.		USA		張棪祥	1984.8.2	大會堂劇院	爭流戲劇組織
1984	The Room	房間	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK	利順璟、周紫玉、侯瑞芸/譯	利順璟、鄭子聰、溫敏芳	1984.8.3	大會堂劇院	香港大學學生會戲劇社
1984		回歸	Camus, Albert		France	李國威/改編	李國威	1984.8.5	大會堂劇院	香港理工學院學生會戲劇社
1984		假如你是・・・・・ 潘奇托・貢薩萊斯的故事 明天的戰爭		博達諾維克 德拉貢 格羅斯			黃哲希、張慧英 招潔泓 曹任文	1984.7.28-29	香港藝術中心小劇場	力行劇社
1984	Insect World	昆蟲世界	Capek brothers	查北兄弟	Czech Republic	陳鈞潤/譯	高本納	1984.9.25-	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團
1984	Happy End	大團圓	Brecht, Bertolt and Dorothy Lane		Germany	黎翠珍譯自英文譯本	黃清霞	1984.10.23-27	藝術中心壽臣劇院	海豹劇團
1984	How Mr. Mockinpott was cured of his Sufferings	良藥苦中求	Weiss, Peter	彼得·維斯	Germany	陳淑華/譯	凌嘉勤、鄭文亮	1984.11.27-21.1	香港藝術中心小劇場	力行劇社
1984	The Threepenny Opera	三便士歌劇	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	譯	Stahl, Rolf	1984.12.7-16	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團

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1984		嵐嶺痴盟		唐尼樂第			盧景文	1984.12.15,17 12.19-20	大會堂歌劇院	市政局
1984	Bedroom Farce	閨房樂	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK	海滴/譯	張之玨	1984.12.15-17	新光戲院	聯藝有限公司
1984-1985	Donkey Work Insect World	驢老爺的旅程 昆蟲世界	Goss, Bernard Capek brothers	高本納 查北兄弟	UK Czech Republic	黃美蘭/譯 陳鈞潤/譯	黃美蘭 高本納	1984.12.20- 1985.1.6	香港藝術中心	香港兒童藝術節八四 中英劇團
1984-1985	Pygmalion	天呀!多難聽!	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK		中英劇團、徐詠璇、高本納	1984-1985	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團
1985	La Locandiera	女店主	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy		李銘森	1985.1.11-13 1985.1.15-17	大專會堂 大會堂高座演奏廳	香港話劇團
1985	The Flies	殺嬰 群蠅	山本有三 Sartre, Jean-Paul	沙特	Japan France			1985.1.19	藝術中心小劇場	柏立基教育學院學生會劇社
1985	Children of a Lesser God	次神的兒女	Medoff, Mark	馬克·麥道夫	USA	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1985.1.21-29	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1985	After Magritte	畫廊之後	Stoppard, Tom	湯姆·史圖柏	UK	黎翠珍/譯	黃清霞	1985.1.23-29	大會堂	海豹劇團
1985	Death of a Salesman	推銷員之死(國語)	Miller, Arthur		USA	英若誠/譯		1985.2.11-16	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中國北京人民藝術劇院
1985	Man of La Mancha	武士英魂	Wasserman, Dale	戴爾·華沙文	USA	許遠光、何國靖/譯	張秉權、白耀燦、 傅月美	1985.2.9-10	伊利沙伯體育館	致群劇社
1985		殺嬰	山本有三		Japan			1985.5	長沙灣警察宿舍	湛青劇社
1985	The Little Foxes	小狐狸	Hellman, Lillian	蓮麗·海爾曼	USA	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1985.5.3-12	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1985	The Importance of Being Earnest	不可兒戲	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK	余光中/譯	楊世彭	1985.6.14-23	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1985	I Heard the Owl Call My Name	貓頭鷹叫我的時候	Craven, Margaret		USA	關子開/改編	關子開	1985.7.13	大會堂劇院	香港理工學院學生會戲劇社
1985	Then…	然後	Campton, David	大衛金頓	UK	麥劍豪/譯	李榮健	1985.7.14	大會堂劇院	工業福音團契戲劇組
1985	Animal Farm	動物農莊	Orwell, George	佐治·奧維爾	UK	集體改編	司徒慧焯	1985.7.20	大會堂劇院	旅港開平商會中學
1985		賭棍	Gogol, Nikolai	尼古拉·里戈里	Russia	容耀輝/改編	容耀輝	1985.7.23	大會堂劇院	伍華書院
1985	A Man for All Seasons	日月精忠	Bolt, Robert	羅拔·寶德	UK	陳載澧、張南峰/譯	陳載澧	1985.8.22-25	大會堂音樂廳	香港話劇團
1985	The Fantasticks	愛海高飛	Jones, Tom and Harvey Schmidt	璟斯·施米勒	USA	周蓓、簡婉明/譯	黃清霞	1985.9.29-30	大會堂音樂廳	海豹劇團
1986	Measure For Measure	請君入甕	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	英若誠/譯	英若誠	1986.1.27-.2.2 2.14-16	大會堂劇院 高山劇場	香港話劇團

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1986	Twelfth Night	元宵	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	Goss, Bernard	1986.1.31-2.7	藝術中心演奏廳	中英劇團
1986	Offending the Audience	侵犯觀眾	Handke, Peter	彼德·漢克	Austria		盧偉力	1986.3	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	？劇社
1986	Othello	嫉	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳尹瑩/改編	陳尹瑩	1986.5.2-12	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1986	The School for Wives	造妻記	Molière	莫里哀	France	黃雅儀、梁珮琪、李惠馨	李惠馨	1986.7.31		嘉諾撒聖心書院
1986	Lunch Girls	午餐小敘	Hart, Ron		UK	魏明	彭萬龍	1986.8.2		社會福利署西區服務中心藝臻劇社
1986	Bury The Dead	葬屍	Shaw, Irwin	蕭歐文	USA	劉日超、葉桂蘭	劉日超	1986.8.5		香港理工學院學生會戲劇社
1986	Exception and the Rule	常規與例外	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	長流/譯	盧偉力	1986.8	荃灣大會堂	第四線劇社
1986	Noises Off	蝦碌戲班	Frayn, Michael	米高·弗雷恩	UK	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1986.10.21-27	高山劇場	香港話劇團
1986	Twelfth Night	元宵	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	高本納	1986.10.28-31	藝術中心演奏廳	中英劇團
1986		沒有葬禮的日子	Shaw, Irwin	歐文·蕭	USA	李家苗/譯	古天農	1986.11	高山劇場	第四線劇社
1986	The Resistible Rise of Arturoui	教父亞塗發跡史	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	周勇平/譯 徐詠璇/改編	徐詠璇	1986.12.8-11	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1986	The Visions of Simone Machard	阿茜的救國夢	Brecht, Bertolt and Lion Feuchtwanger	布萊希特、忽希脫華格	Germany	毛俊輝/譯	毛俊輝	1986.12.10-13	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1986	The Fantastic Fairground	驚險樂園	Goss, Bernard	高本納	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	黃美蘭	1986.12.22-24	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1987	Spring Fever Hotel	禧春酒店	Feydeau, Georges and Maurice Desvallieres	喬治·緋都、莫禮士·笛華爾茲	France	陳鈞潤/譯	高本納	1987.2.4-8	香港演藝學院戲劇院	中英劇團
1987		河童	芥川龍之介		Japan	陳婉華、陸偉雄/譯	陸偉雄	1987.3	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	第四線劇社
1987		城市壓力	郭寶崑	Kuo Pao-Kun	Singapore	李鎮洲/譯	高本納	1987.3.12-15	藝術中心	中英劇團
1987	The Shadow Box	影子盒	Cristofer, Michael	米高·基斯杜化	USA	張之玨/譯	張之玨	1987.4.29-5.2	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1987	Noises Off	蝦碌戲班	Frayn, Michael	米高·弗雷恩	UK	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1987.5.1-4 5.7-11	牛池灣文娛中心 大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1987	'Nite, Mother	半句晚安	Norman, Marsha	瑪莎·羅民	USA	陳鈞潤	麥秋	1987.5.14-24	城市劇場	中天製作
1987	Four Posters	四柱大床				陳敢權	麥秋	1987.5.27-31	城市劇場	中天製作
1987	'Nite, Mother	半句晚安	Norman, Marsha	瑪莎·羅民	USA	陳鈞潤	麥秋	1987.6.4-7	城市劇場	中天製作
1987	When the Wind Blows	核戰手則	Briggs, Raymond	雷文·碧格	UK	古天農/改編	古天農	1987.7.3-12	大會堂演奏廳	香港話劇團
1987		潘奇樂		德拉貢				1987.7.11-13	藝術中心小劇場	欣實劇團
1987	Oedipus The King	伊狄帕斯王	Sophocles	索福克勒斯	Greece	黎翠珍/譯	鍾景輝	1987.7.14-19	香港演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

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1987	Monster Man	屠魔者	Goss, Bernard	高本納	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	李鎮洲	1987.7.17-20	大會堂展覽廳	中英劇團
1987	Hobson's Choice	女大不中留	Brighouse, Harold	夏特特·貝力吉侯斯	UK	陳鈞潤	黃美蘭	1987.8.29-30 9.2-3,5	演藝學院戲劇院	中英劇團
1987	Charlie the Chicken	公雞查理	Levy, Jonathan	莊拿敦·利維	USA	古天農/譯	古天農	1987.9.11-20	城市劇場	香港話劇團
	When the Wind Blows	核戰手則	Briggs, Raymond	雷文·碧格	UK	古天農/改編	古天農			
1987	'Nite, Mother	半句晚安	Norman, Marsha	瑪莎·羅民	USA	陳鈞潤	麥秋	1987.9.21-27	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中天製作
1987	Happy Days	快樂等待	Beckett, Samuel	貝克特	UK	張可堅/譯	何應豐	1987.10.23-25	藝術中心小劇場	中英劇團
1987	The Comedy of Errors	難得糊塗	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	黎翠珍/譯	George, Colin	1987.11.16-19	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1987	Cyrano de Bergerac	風流劍客	Rostand, Edmond	愛門·羅斯當	France	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1987.11.25-28	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1987	Rashomon	羅生門	Kanin, Fay and Michael	卡寧	USA	黎翠珍/改編	黃清霞	1987.12.4-6	大會堂演奏廳	海豹劇團
1987	Pinocchio	木偶奇遇記	Way, Brian and Warren Jenkins	白賴仁韋、華倫曾健士	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	Harris, Chris	1987.12.24-27	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1987	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA	湯新楣、劉文漢/譯	羅冠蘭、梁廣昌	1987.12.27-29	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	香港基督教文娛協會
1988	Cabaret	有酒今朝醉	Masteroff, Joe	祖·馬斯德洛夫	USA	陳鈞潤/譯	陳尹瑩	1988.1.22-29	高山劇場	香港話劇團
1988	A Midsummer Night's Dream	仲夏夜之魘	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤	高本納	1988.2.8-13	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1988		勾心鬥角				黃浩義/改編		1988.2.25-3.	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	浩采製作
1988	Monster Man	屠魔者	Goss, Bernard	高本納	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	李鎮洲	1988.2.27 2.28 3.6 3.13	北區大會堂 元朗聿修堂 屯門大會堂文娛廳 大埔文娛中心	中英劇團
1988	Agnes of God	神蹟奇案	Pielmeier, John	莊皮雅	USA	劉兆璋/譯	劉兆璋	1988.3.2-5	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1988	Six Characters in Search of an Author	六個尋找作家的角色	Pirandello, Luigi	皮藍德婁	Italy	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1988.3.5-15	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1988	Happy Days	快樂等待	Beckett, Samuel	貝克特	UK	張可堅/譯	何應豐	1988.3.18-19	藝術中心小劇場	中英劇團
1988	Five Finger Exercise	五指練習	Shaffer, Peter	彼得·舒化	UK	草田/譯	傅月美	1988.3.23-26	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1988	Rashomon	羅生門	Ryunosuke	芥川龍之介	Japan	黎翠珍/改編	黃清霞	1988.3.25-26	演藝學院歌劇院	海豹劇團
1988		沙律殺人事件	Betsuyaka, Minoru	別役實	Japan		何文蔚	1988.3.25-27	城市劇場	後台劇團
1988	The Little Prince	小王子	Saint-Exupery, Antoine de	安東·埃修伯理	France	何文蔚/譯		1988.4.5	大會堂演奏廳	中青劇社
1988	Monster Man	屠魔者	Goss, Bernard	高本納	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	李鎮洲	1988.4.7-10	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團

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1988	Three Sisters	三姊妹	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia	毛俊輝/譯	毛俊輝	1988.4.27-30	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1988	Just Between Ourselves	你我之間	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK	冼錦青，鄭敏霞/譯	冼錦青	1988.5.3-7	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1988	Twelfth Night	第十二夜	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	林尚武，周采芹/改編	周采芹	1988.5.13-24	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1988	A Midsummer Night's Dream	仲夏夜之魘	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤	高本納	1988.5.27-28 6.1-2 6.5	荃灣大會堂 沙田大會堂演奏廳 屯門大會堂演奏廳	中英劇團
1988	The Importance of Being Earnest	不可兒戲	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK			1988.6.3-4	藝穗會	戲派劇社
1988		兩兄弟一條心	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	林偉洪/譯	李國威	1988.6.4-5	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	第四線劇社
1988	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA	湯新楣、劉文漢/譯	何偉龍	1988.6.18-19	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	浸會學院校外進修部演藝(戲劇)證書課程
1988	Brighton Beach Memoirs	少年十五二十時	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	海滴/譯	張之玨	1988.6.20-25	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1988	Pinocchio	木偶奇遇記	Way, Brian and Warren Jenkins	白賴仁、 華倫 曾健士	UK	陳鈞潤/譯		1988.6.23-26	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1988		勾心鬥角				黃浩義/改編		1988.6.28-7.17	藝術中心壽臣劇院	浩采製作
1988	The Tea House of August Moon	秋月茶居	Patrick, John	約翰里克	USA		黃茵茵	1988.7.1-3	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	羅富國教育學院學生會
1988		龍珠的童話		幗麗莉		陳鈞潤/譯	黃美蘭	1988.7.27-31	大會堂展覽廳	中英劇團
1988	The Glass Menagerie	玻璃動物園	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA	簡婉明/譯	麥秋	1988.8.19-21 8.26-28 9.2-4 9.9-11	城市劇場	中天製作
1988	The Hour of the Stars	星星的時間	別役實		Japan		何文蔚	1988.8.27-9.6,9.16-20	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1988	Run for Your Wife	花心大丈夫	Cooney, Ray		UK		鍾景輝、陳有后	1988.10.7-11	演藝學院歌劇院	藝進同學會
1988		閉門一家賊	Orton, Joe		UK		李國威	1988.10.8-9	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	投影集
1988	Long Day's Journey into Night	長路漫漫路迢迢	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA	方天大/改編	方天大	1988.10.10		赤犢劇團
1988	Tbe Duck Variations	鴨的變奏	Mamet, David	大衛·麻密	USA	陳麗珠、何應豐/譯	何應豐	1988.10.19-22	藝術中心壽臣劇院	藝穗會及藝術中心主辦
1988	Rupert's Birthday	盧比出生的那一天	Jenkins, Ken	簡震奇	USA	陳麗珠、何應豐/譯				
1988	A Man for All Seasons	日月精忠	Bolt, Robert	羅拔·寶德	UK	張南峰、陳載澧/改編	王添強	1988.10.19-22	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	香港基督徒文娛中心

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1988	The Typists	打字員 泛音 親愛的死者	Schisgal, Murray	梅利·薛史高 愛麗斯·珍斯特博 登霍·英	USA	林慧儀/譯 葉麗春/譯 信芳/譯	江譽聖 水秀 谷祖威	1988.10.21-22	藝術中心演奏廳	第四線劇社
1988	The Emperor Jones	鍾斯王	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA	鍾景輝/譯	George, Colin	1988.11.23-26	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1988	An Enemy of the People	人民公敵	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	張可堅、麥秋/改編		1988.11.26	大專會堂	香港浸會學院劇社
1988	Desire under the Elms	榆樹下的慾望	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA	譯	陳載澧	1988.12.2-11 12.15-18	牛池灣文娛中心劇院 上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1988		我家、我家、我家開	Yavin, Naftali		UK	蔡元豐、陳穎/譯	彭健兒、黃婉芬	1988.12.27-29	大會堂劇院	致群劇社
1988-1989	Island Line	港島線	Ludwig, Volker	路德維格	Germany	黃清霞、周綺玲/改編		1988.12.29-1989.1.1 1989.1.5-8	上環文娛中心劇院 牛池灣文娛中心劇院	海豹劇團
1989	The Bald Soprano	光頭女高音	Ionesco, Eugene		France		茹國烈	1989.1.6-7	沙田大會堂文娛廳	湛青劇社
1989	The Maids	女僕	Genet, Jean	尚·紀涅	France			1989.1.24	藝穗會綜藝室二	茹國烈、鄧鳳儀、梁海儀演出
1989	Tempest, The	暴風雨	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	廖梅姬、溫梁詠裳/譯	林立三	1989.1.18-21	演藝學院歌劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1989	The Goodbye Girl	又見再見	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	項、潘立本/改編	陳啓源	1989.1.26-27	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	荃灣青年劇藝社
1989	The Little Prince	小王子	Saint-Exupery, Antoine de		France	陳鈞潤/譯		1989.1.29	牛池灣文娛中心	青年協會慈雲山青年中心
1989	Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Red	閒角春秋	Stoppard, Tom	湯姆·史托柏	UK		毛俊輝	1989.1.29-2.4	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1989	Run for Your Wife	花心大丈夫	Cooney, Ray		UK		鍾景輝	1989.2.24-25	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	藝進同學會
1989	Pinocchio	木偶奇遇記	Way, Brian and Warren Jenkins	白賴仁韋、華倫曾健士	UK	陳鈞潤/譯		1989.3.4-5,11-12	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1989	The Taming of the Shrew	馴悍記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯		1989.3.17,19	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	理工學生會話劇社
1989		勾心鬥角				黃浩義/改編		1989.3.17-26	藝術中心壽臣劇院	浩采製作
1989	The Normal Heart	常在我心間	Kramer, Larry	拉利·克藍瑪	USA	葉麗春/譯	曹東	1989.3.20-25	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1989	The Metamorphosis	蛻變	Kafka, Franz		Czech Republic		陳炳釗	1989.3.25-28	城市劇場	沙磚上
1989		裝聾扮啞	Maugham, William Somerset	毛姆	UK			1989.4.7-9	藝術中心壽臣劇院	演藝.演藝
1989	La Locandiera	女店主	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy	焦菊隱/譯	李銘森、何偉龍	1989.4.7-11	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	灣仔劇團

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1989	What the Butler Saw	閉門一家親	Orton, Joe	祖·俄頓	UK	葉麗春、司徒慧賢/譯	司徒慧賢	1989.4.24-29	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1989	Equus	馬	Shaffer, Peter	彼得·舒化	UK	鍾景輝/譯	李國威	1989.5.15-19	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1989		迦陀	Tagore, Rabindranath	泰戈爾	India	凡夫/改編	凡夫	1989.5.18-19	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	佚名劇團
1989	Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Red	閒角春秋	Stoppard, Tom	湯姆·史托柏	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	毛俊輝	1989.6.1-3	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1989	Man of La Mancha	武士英魂	Wasserman, Dale	戴爾·華沙文	USA	方家煌/譯	方家煌	1989.6.16-21	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1989		哈囉！亞爸....	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	李明珠、周偉強/譯	傳月美	1989.6.17-19	上環文娛中心演講廳	第四線劇社
1989	Biloxi Blues	衝上雲霄	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	海滴/譯	張之玨	1989.6.26-7.1	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1989	Animal Farm	動物農莊	Orwell, George		UK			1989.6.29-7.2	沙田大會堂文娛廳	羅富國教育學院學生會
1989	The Sound of a Voice	聲/色	黃哲倫、杜國威		USA	古兆奉	毛俊輝	1989.7.10-19	香港話劇團排練室	香港話劇團
1989		都市翁夢	Allen, Woody		USA	何惠歡/改編	何惠歡	1989.7.15	上環文娛中心劇院	丘貉劇社
	The Bald Soprano	光頭女高音	Ionesco, Eugene		France	茹國烈、李志善/改編	茹國烈	1989.7.16		湛青劇社
		愛妻物語	赤川次郎		Japan	陳建順/改編	陳建順	1989.7.17		演藝.演藝.
		私奔	赤川次郎		Japan	謝旭華/改編	黃志恒	1989.7.18		中文大學新亞劇社
		黑色的一夜	Shaffer, Peter		UK	鄭振初/改編	吳俊昭、高美惠	1989.7.18		耀菁服務劇團
		畫中的遺憾	三浦綾子		Japan	五旬節杯漢光中學戲劇學會/改編	五旬節林漢光中學導演組	1989.7.20		五旬節林漢光中學
	The Bald Soprano	光頭女高音	Ionesco, Eugene		France	茹國烈、李志善/改編	茹國烈	1989.7.26-28		湛青劇社
1989	Susumu's Story	進兒的故事	Holman, David	大衛·荷曼	Australia	古天農/譯	John, Chris	1989.8.5-8	上環文娛中心劇院	中英劇團
1989	Peacemaker	和平使者	Holman, David	大衛·荷曼	Australia	黃美蘭/譯	John, Chris	1989.8.16-19	藝術中心壽臣劇團	中英劇團
								8.25	大埔文娛中心	
								8.28-29	荃灣大會堂文娛廳	
1989		荒島之序	Mitchell, Adrian		UK			1989.8.29-30	藝穗會	第四幅牆
1989	Waiting for Godot	等待果陀	Beckett, Samuel	貝克特	UK	集體翻譯	林大慶	1989.9.1-3	上環文娛中心劇院	力行劇社
								9.8-10	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	
1989	Comic Trilogy	諧趣三步曲	Fo, Dario and Franca Rame	法蘭嘉·娜美、達里奧·霍	Italy	莫蒨如、羅靜雯、黃美蘭/譯	莊舜姬、羅靜雯	1989.9.6-11	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
								10.18-21	沙田大會堂文娛廳	

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1989	The Night Thoreau Spent in Jail	牢窗內外	Lawrence, Jerome and Robert E. Lee	杰羅姆·勞倫斯、羅伯特·李	USA	古天農/譯	古天農	1989.9.15-17	上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1989	The Fire Raisers	縱火者	Frisch, Max	麥士·弗利施	Switzerland	張可堅譯自英文譯本	鍾炳霖	1989.9.21-24	大會堂劇院	海豹劇團
1989	Run for Your Wife	花心大丈夫	Cooney, Ray		UK		鍾景輝	1989.10.5-9	演藝學院歌劇院	藝進同學會
1989	The Autumn of the Patriarch	獨裁者的秋天	Márquez, Gabriel García	馬奎斯	Columbia	梵谷/改編	梵谷	1989.10.20-23	城市劇場	沙磚上
1989	Such a Lovely Bastille Day	某一年的七月十四日	Bellot, Jean-Jacques	尚－雅克·貝洛	France	曾家傑/譯	尚－雅克.貝洛	1989.10.25-28	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1989	Hamlet	王子復仇記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	何文匯/改編		1989.10.27-29	大會堂劇院	路德演藝社
1989		無路可出 雞同鴨講	Sartre, Jean-Paul Stevens, Michael	沙特 米高·史提芬	France UK		陳志樺	1989.11.3-5	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	湛青劇社
1989	The Matchmaker	俏紅娘	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA	陳鈞潤/譯	陳尹瑩	1989.11.6-10, 12.14-21	香港文化中心劇場	香港話劇團
1989	The Night Thoreau Spent in Jail	牢窗內外	Lawrence, Jerome and Robert E. Lee	杰羅斯·勞倫斯、羅伯特·李	USA	古天農/譯	古天農	1989.11.18-19	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1989	Woman in Mind	我手誰牽	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK		傅月美	1989.11.23-27	上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1989	The Miracle Worker	創奇者	Gibson, William	威廉·基遜	USA/Canada	草田、蕪蔚/譯		1989.12.12-14	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	香港基督徒文娛協會
1989	Grease	油脂	Jacobs, Jim and Warren Casey	占·積合斯、華倫·基西	USA	海滴/譯	鍾景輝	1989.12.13-17	演藝學院歌劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1989-1990	The Collection Lullaby	真相 搖搖一生	Pinter, Harold Beckett, Samuel	夏洛·品特 貝克特	UK UK	黎翠珍/譯 黎翠珍/譯	黃清霞 黃清霞	1989.12.29-1990.1.2	演藝學院戲劇院	海豹劇團基金
1990		龍舞(殺嬰)	山本有三		Japan			1990	?	彩虹劇社
1990	After Magritte	畫廊之後	Stoppard, Tom		UK		趙汝俊	1990.1.12-20	沙田大會堂文娛廳	亂描舍
1990		同命俏冤家	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA		董耀光	1990.1.2-5	香港文化中心劇場	湛青劇社
1990	Waiting for Godot	等待果陀	Beckett, Samuel	貝克特	UK	集體翻譯	林大慶	1990.1.12-14	演藝學院戲劇院	力行劇社
1990	L'Amour Medecin	愛情是醫生	Molière	莫里哀	France		Bellot, Jean-Jacque	1990.1.19-21	上環文娛中心劇院	藝穗會戲劇工作坊
1990	Much Ado about Nothing	無事生非	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1990.1.18-24	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
1990	Run for Your Wife	花心大丈夫	Cooney, Ray		UK		鍾景輝	1990.1.27-31	香港文化中心大劇院	藝進同學會
1990	The Cherry Orchard	櫻桃園	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia	張可堅/譯	麥秋	1990.2.2-7 2.28-3.2	大會堂劇院 荃灣大會堂演奏廳	中天製作
1990	The Two Gentlemen of Verona	君子好逑	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	莊舜姬	1990.2.9-14	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團

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1990	Becket	雄霸天下	Anouilh, Jean	尚·阿努依	France	廖梅姬、溫梁詠裳/譯	鍾景輝	1990.2.24-3.9	上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1990	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA		陳啓源	1990.2.6	荃灣大會堂文娛廳	荃灣青年劇藝社
1990		劇場草稿II	Beckett, Samuel	森姆·貝克特	UK		李國威	1990.2.16-18	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	赫墾坊劇團
1990	The Windigo	風鬼	Foon, Dennis	甫丹尼	USA	李鎮洲/譯	李鎮洲	1990.2.24 2.25 3.29 3.3 3.31	屯門大會堂演奏廳 元朗聿修堂 沙田大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	中英劇團
1990	Fifth of July	戀戀家園	Wilson, Lanford	蘭福·威爾遜	USA	葉麗春、張志偉/譯	張志偉	1990.3.12-17	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1990	Ah, Wilderness!	啊！荒野	O'Neill, Eugene		USA			1990.3.24-25	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	香港青年協大角咀青年中心夢影劇坊
1990	Terra Nova	光榮之旅	Tally, Ted	達·狄利	USA	梁子麒/譯	司徒慧焯	1990.4.2-7	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1990	L'Amour Medecin	愛情是醫生	Molière		France		尚雅克·貝洛	1990.4.13-14	藝穗會	藝穗會戲劇工作坊
1990		我要有情人	泰利 (Ted Tally?)		USA		鄭傳軍、泰利	1990.4.14-15	上環文娛中心演講廳	赤犢劇團
1990		四月迷你劇集 a)情人節之後 b)見証		耶.荷爾赫列支塞		鄭振初/譯	鄭振初、尹錦榮	1990.4.18-20	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	致群劇社
1990	Run for Your Wife	花心大丈夫	Cooney, Ray		UK		鍾景輝	1990.4.26-29	演藝學院歌劇院	藝進同學會
1990	The Crucible	熔爐	Miller, Arthur	亞瑟·米勒	USA	劉兆璋/譯	傅月美	1990.5.9-12	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1990	Cyrano de Bergerac	美人如玉劍如虹	Rostand, Edmond	羅斯當	France	陳鈞潤/改編	麥秋	1990.6.1-7	香港文化中心大劇院	中天製作
1990	The Two Gentlemen of Verona	君子好逑	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	莊舜姬	1990.6.2 6.5-6 6.9-10	屯門大會堂演奏廳 沙田大會堂演奏廳 荃灣大會堂演奏廳	中英劇團
1990		強者	Strindberg, August		Sweden		何偉龍	1990.6.15-18	沙田大會堂文娛廳	浸會學院校外進修部
1990	As You Like It	春風吹渡玉門關	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	廖梅姬、溫梁詠裳/譯	毛俊輝	1990.6.19-23	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1990	Curse of the Starving Class	餓鬼道	Shepard, Sam	森·薛柏	USA	羅卡/譯	鍾炳霖	1990.6.21-24	藝術中心壽臣劇院	海豹劇團基金及第四線劇社
1990	Becket	雄霸天下	Anouilh, Jean	尚·阿努依	France	廖梅姬、溫梁詠裳/譯	鍾景輝	1990.6.29-7.3, 7.5-9	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團

年份	原本劇名	翻譯劇名	劇作家原名	劇作家譯名	劇作家國籍	改編/翻譯	導演	演出日期	演出場地	演出團體
1990	Rhinoceros	犀牛	Ionesco, Eugene	尤金·詫奧尼斯高	France	譚榮邦/譯	林大慶、陳麗音	1990.7.13-15	香港文化中心大劇院	力行劇社
1990		枷鎖	Steinbeck, John	約翰·史坦貝克	USA	司徒偉健/改編	司徒偉健	1990.7.14	上環文娛中心劇院	湛青劇社
1990	The Maids	女僕	Genet, Jean		France	何粹華/譯	何粹華	1990.7.15	上環文娛中心劇院	香港大學學生會戲劇社
1990		小國民	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	張達明/改編	張達明	1990.7.21-23 8.4-5	城市劇場 上環文娛中心演講廳	沙磚上
1990	Rainbow's Ending	天際彩虹	Greig, Noel	諾易爾·格雷哥	UK	古天農/譯	李鎮洲	1990.7.27-30	香港文化中心劇場	中英劇團
1990	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France		朱克、吳回	1990.8.7-10	大會堂劇院	香港影視劇團
1990	Ubu Roi	胡天胡帝	Jarry, Alfred	愛爾非·扎爾	France	陳鈞潤/譯	毛俊輝	1990.8.26-31	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
1990	The Memorandum	備忘錄	Havel, Vaclav	哈維爾	Czech Republic	陳鈞潤/譯	Johnson, Christine	1990.9.7-12	演藝學院戲劇院	中英劇團
1990	The Merchant of Venice	威尼斯商人	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯		1990.9.22	香港文化中心劇場	導向劇團
1990	The Lover	情人	Pinter, Harold		UK			1990.9.22-23	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	羅富國校友會劇社
1990	Waiting for Godot	等待果陀	Beckett, Samuel		UK			1990.9.23	香港文化中心劇場	導向劇團
1990	The Taming of the Shrew	馴悍記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯	查國林	1990.9.28-29	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	學友社
1990	The Goodbye Girl	又見再見	Simon, Neil		USA	陳啓源、鄺文偉/改編	陳啓源	1990.10.3-5	大會堂劇院	荃灣青年劇藝社
1990		我愛假日長	Simon, Neil		USA	黃雅儀、楊凱民/改編	劉錫賢	1990.10.5-7	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	觀塘劇團
1990	Death in Venice	魂斷威尼斯	Mann, Thomas	托瑪斯曼	Germany	陳偉通/改編	周富明	1990.10.5-7	沙田大會堂文娛廳	潔萌劇藝團
1990		笑中有淚	Simon, Neil		USA	舒盛宗/譯	李國威	1990.10.5-9	演藝學院戲劇院	第四線劇社
1990		飛越瘋人院	Wasserman, Dale	戴爾·華沙文	USA	許遠光、方競生、張麗影/譯	張秉權	1990.10.12-16	演藝學院戲劇院	致群劇社
1990		媽媽的自白		路迪美娜寶路			余振球	1990.10.14	荃灣大會堂文娛廳	佚名劇團
1990	Antigone	禁葬令	(based on version by Sophocles and Brecht)		Greece	鮑漢琳/譯	羅靜雯	1990.10.19 10.20 10.21	屯門大會堂演奏廳 元朗聿修堂演奏廳 北區大會堂演奏廳	中英劇團
1990	Puppy Love	小狗拍拍	Keller, Bruce and David Paul Jobling	布斯·奇勒、大衛保羅·素寧	Australia	阮志雄/譯	莊舜姬	1990.10.19-21	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	中英劇團
1990	Butterflies Are Free	一屋、兩伙、三人煩	Gershe, Leonard	李安納·艾爾希	USA	古兆奉、羅卡/改編	香立行	1990.10.25-28	上環文娛中心劇院	海豹劇團基金
1990	Cyrano de Bergerac	美人如玉劍如虹	Rostand, Edmond	羅斯當	France	陳鈞潤/改編	麥秋	1990.11.22-29	香港文化中心大劇院	中天製作
1990	Peer Gynt	培爾・金特	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	蕭乾/譯	徐曉鐘	1990.11.30-12.12	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團

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1990	How To Succeed In Business Without Really Trying	登龍有術	Burrows, Abe and Jack Weinstock and Willie Gilbert	阿比·巴路士、傑克·韋斯托、威利·基爾拔	USA	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1990.12.4-7	演藝學院歌劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1990	Butterflies Are Free	蝴蝶飛翔	Gershe, Leonard	連奴·尊治	USA	陳敢權/譯	陳敢權	1990.12.10-15	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1990	A Streetcar Named Desire	慾望號街車	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA	凡夫/改編	凡夫	1990.12.15-16	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	戲派
1990	Saint Joan	聖女貞德	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	簡婉明/譯	梁廣昌、黃德研	1990.12.26-28	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	香港基督徒文娛協會
1991		拖鞋情人	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK		茹國烈	1991.1.1-4	大會堂劇院	湛青劇社
1991		多情應笑我	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	曾智昌/改編	曾智昌	1991.1.5-6	藝術中心壽臣劇院	展藝劇社
1991	Love Letters	情信	Gurney, A. R.		USA	廖玉玲/改編	趙汝俊	1991.1.5-16	沙田大會堂文娛廳	亂描舍
	The Bald Soprano	禿頭女高音	Ionesco, Eugene	伊歐涅斯柯	France		馮健新			戲集
1991	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France			1991.1.10-12	西灣河文娛中心劇院	香港影視劇團
1991	The Marriage of Figaro	費加羅的婚禮	Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de	皮埃爾·博馬舍	France	楊世彭/譯 David Hammond/改編	楊世彭	1991.1.20-2.2	香港文化中心劇場	香港話劇團
1991	Volpone	狐狸品	Jonson, Ben	本章生	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	Johnson, Christine	1991.2.1-3 2.5-10	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1991	Wet Paint	油漆未乾	Fauchois, René	福賽原華	France			1991.1.31-2.1	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	香港影視劇團
1991	Volpone	狐狸品	Jonson, Ben	本章生	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	Johnson, Christine	1991.2.1-3,5-10	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1991	The Memorandum	備忘錄	Havel, Vaclav	哈維爾	Czech Republic	陳鈞潤/譯	Johnson, Christine	1991.2.28-3.3	大會堂劇院	中英劇團
1991	Run for Your Wife	花心大丈夫	Cooney, Ray		UK			1991.3.1-3	香港體育館	藝進同學會
1991	Antigone	禁葬令	Anouilh, Jean	尚·阿努依	France	廖梅姬、溫梁詠裳/譯	鍾景輝	1991.3.1-13	上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1991		契訶夫的四個短篇: 萬卡 睏 變色龍 小公務員之死	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia	黃浩義/改編	黃玉梅	1991.3.9-10 3.17	荃灣大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	香港青年劇團
1991	The Importance of Being Earnest	不可兒戲	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK	余光中/譯		1991.3.9-10	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	沙崙劇團

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1991	Orchards	情有獨鍾	Wasserstein, Wendy, Samm-Art Williams and Michael Weller	溫狄·韋莎士頓、沙姆·威廉士、米高·維拉	USA	陳麗珠/譯	毛俊輝	1991.3.22-27	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1991	The Goodbye Girl	再見女郎	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA		何偉龍	1991.3.29-4.1	西灣河文娛中心劇院	嘉士怕灣仔劇團
1991		勾心鬥角				黃浩義/改編		1991.4.1-30	香港文化中心劇場	浩采製作
1991	Six Characters in Search of an Author	六個尋找作家的角色	Pirandello, Luigi	皮藍德婁	Italy	鍾景輝/譯		1991.4.12-15	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	演藝.演藝
1991		迦陀公主	Tagore, Rabindranath	泰戈爾	India		丁羽	1991.4.27-28 5.3-5	荃灣大會堂文娛廳 沙田大會堂文娛廳	佚名劇團
1991		你聽到我聽到你嗎?	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK	歐陽慧清、梁永強/改編	鍾一鳴	1991.5.4-5	香港文化中心劇場	拾悅棧
1991	Volpone	狐狸品	Jonson, Ben	本·章生	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	莊舜姬	1991.5.24-25 5.29-31	荃灣大會堂演奏廳 沙田大會堂演奏廳	中英劇團
1991	Effect of Gamma Rays On Man-In-The-Moon Marigolds, The	伽瑪射線實驗	Zindel, Paul		USA	方競生、陳麗珠/譯	司徒慧賢	1991.5.25-28	香港文化中心劇場	致群劇社
1991		處女已死	Lorca, Federico Garcia		Spain		黃浩義	1991.5.30-6.2	大會堂劇院	香港青年劇團
1991		五齣翻譯劇： 寧靜之戰 我的嬰兒 我身演我心 由齒開始 驚魂未定						1991.5.31-6.1	藝穗會	庸雅劇社
1991		燃燒的人		湯·杜柏		鄺爲立/譯	余振球	1991.6.7-8	大會堂劇院	香港基督徒文娛協會
1991	Deadly Ecstasy	神火	Euripides	歐里庇得斯	Greece	黎翠珍/譯 Colin George/改編	George, Colin	1991.6.12-15	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1991		招募情人	繆塞			大川/改編	大川	1991.6.15-17	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	動畫劇社
1991		阿垮語錄 嗅丸				陳炳釗/譯 甄詠蓓/譯	陳炳釗 甄詠蓓	1991.6.21-27	藝穗會	詹瑞文、甄詠蓓
1991	Exception and the Rule	常則與例外	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany		黃雅儀	1991.7.3-4	西灣河文娛中心劇院	觀塘劇團
1991	The Dwarf	孤蝠	Bradbury, Ray		USA	陳志希/改編	陳志希	1991.7.14	上環文娛中心劇院	香港理工學院學生會戲劇社
1991	Antigone	禁葬令	Anouilh, Jean		France	江紹河/改編	江紹河	1991.7.16	上環文娛中心劇院	九龍城區話劇組

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1991		裝「胸」作勢	Bennett, Alan		UK	胡智權/譯	高繼祥	1991.7.27-28	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	戲派
1991	Black Comedy	扮野金龜婿	Shaffer, Peter	彼德·舒化	UK	海滴/譯及改編	陳載澧	1991.8.2-14	上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1991	Spring Fever Hotel	嬉春酒店	Feydeau, Georges and Maurice Desvallieres	喬治·緋都、莫禮士·笛華爾茲	France	陳鈞潤/譯及改編	蕭建鏗	1991.8.3-11	香港文化中心大劇院	藝進同學會
1991	Getting Out	鐵窗	Norman, Marsha	瑪莎·羅曼	USA	李躍文/譯	李榮健	1991.8.25-26	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	工業福音團契
1991	Questions Arising Today from Mutiny In 1798	叛變	Gillham, Geoff	傑夫·咸威	UK	阮志雄/譯	李鎮洲	1991.9.2-5	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1991	Monkey See Monkey Do	馬騮戲(兒童劇)	Keller, Bruce	布斯·奇勒	Australia	阮志雄/譯	莊舜姬	1991.9.6-8	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1991	Luv	飛越愛河橋	Schisgal, Murray		USA	彭鎮南/譯	司徒慧賢	1991.9.6-8	香港文化中心劇場	演戲家族
1991		拖鞋情人	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK		茹國烈	1991.9.6-8	上環文娛中心劇院	湛青劇社
1991	The Government-Inspector	欽差大臣	Gogol, Nikolai	果戈里	Russia	古天農/譯	古天農	1991.9.6-15	西灣河文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1991		暮雲集				陳志希/譯	陳志希	1991.9.11	香港文化中心劇場	理工學院學生會戲劇學會
1991	Educating Rita	教室情緣	Russell, Willy	威利·羅素	UK	古天農/譯	莊舜姬	1991.9.27-10.2	大會堂劇院	中英劇團
1991		一家之犬	Kass, Jerome		USA	余振球/譯	關信培	1991.10.20 10.26 11.3	沙田大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂 屯門大會堂文娛廳	佚名劇團
1991		回歸	Camus, Albert	卡謬	France	陳啓源/改編	陳啓源	1991.11.9-10	荃灣大會堂文娛廳	荃灣青年劇藝社
1991	The Dumb Waiter	啞侍應	Pinter, Harold		UK	陳一峰/改編	林耀基、陳詠詩	1991.11.13-14	中大邵逸夫堂	中文大學聯合劇社
1991	Saint Joan	聖女貞德	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	簡婉明/譯	毛俊輝	1991.11.13-16	演藝學院歌劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇院
1991		出位皇帝	Durrenmatt, Friedrich	迪倫馬特	Switzerland	葉廷芳/譯	李國威	1991.11.15-17	香港文化中心劇場	第四線劇社
1991		過檔新娘	Brett, Michael		UK		岑偉宗	1991.11.15-17	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	湛青劇社
1991		波比與他們的死仔包				陳敢權/譯	陳敢權	1991.11.22-25	香港文化中心劇場	演藝.演藝
1991		愛情書簡		艾·格尼		黃玉梅	黃玉梅	1991.11.30-12.1 12.7-8	沙田大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳	香港青年劇團
1991	Rashomon	羅生門	Ryunosuke	芥川龍之介	Japan	鍾景輝/譯	陳啓源	1991.12.8	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	荃灣青年劇藝社
1992	M. Butterfly	蝴蝶君	黃哲倫		USA	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1992.1.3-7,9-13	香港大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1992		囚		史華·莫薩		陸斌/譯	馬歷.高域智	1992.1.10-12	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	小島劇團
1992	Monkey See Monkey Do	馬騮戲(兒童劇)	Keller, Bruce	布斯·奇勒	Australia	阮志雄/譯	莊舜姬	1992.1.11	香港文化中心劇場	中英劇團
1992	Room Service	科班落難喜逢春	Boretz, Allen and John Murray	約翰麥萊、阿倫波里茲	USA	陳鈞潤/改編	張可堅	1992.1.17-19	沙田大會堂演奏廳	沙田話劇團

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1992	An Enemy of the People	人民公敵	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	Arthur Miller/改編 李耀光/譯	李耀光	1992.1.20-25	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1992		癲鸞倒鳳戇醫生	Durang, Christopher	基斯杜化·杜蘭	USA	孫惠芳/譯	余振球	1992.1.24-26	香港文化中心劇場	後台劇團
1992		小紅帽	Schwartz, Eugene			關寶慧/譯	司徒慧焯	1992.2.15-16 2.22 2.23 2.29-3.1 3.7-8	屯門大會堂文娛廳 元朗聿修堂 北區大會堂 沙田大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳	佚名劇團
1992	My Friend Miss Flint	逃稅威龍	Churchill, Donald and Peter Yeldham		UK/Australia		司徒偉健	1992.2.19-23	香港文化中心劇場	湛青劇社
1992	House of Blue Leaves	藍葉之屋	Guare, John	約翰·蓋爾	USA	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1992.2.28-3.8	香港大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1992	Barefoot in the Park	赤腳走公園	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	海滴/譯	麥正麟	1992.3.2-7	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1992	Educating Rita	教室情緣	Russell, Willy	威利·羅素	UK	古天農/譯	羅靜雯	1992.3.6-8	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1992	Don Juan	情聖唐璜	Molière	莫里哀	France	廖梅姬/譯	林立三	1992.3.11-14	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1992		穿和服的男人	Patrick, John	約翰·柏特克里	USA		李永元	1992.3.15-17	香港文化中心劇場	編導製作
1992	Endgame	局住玩殘局	Beckett, Samuel	貝克特	UK	張可堅/譯	鍾炳霖	1992.3.19-22	大會堂劇院	海豹劇團基金
1992	Macbeth	瑪克白	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊展強、李偉祥、余翰廷/譯	楊展強	1992.3.23-28	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1992		鴛鴦配	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA	朗奴/改編	陳木談	1992.3.24-25	西灣河文娛中心劇院	樹仁學院劇藝社
1992	Come Blow Your Horn	兩兄弟一條心	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	林偉洪/譯	喬寶忠	1992.3.27-29	香港文化中心劇場	第四線劇社
1992	Prelude to a Kiss	錯吻情真	Lucas, Craig		USA	古家煌、廖淑芬/譯	方家煌	1992.4.17-19	藝術中心壽臣劇院	演戲家族
1992		緬甸豎琴	竹山道雄		Japan	丁羽、王添強/改編	思源(王添強)	1992.5.9-10 5.16-17 5.22-24	屯門大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳 沙田大會堂文娛廳	佚名劇團
1992	A Flea in her Ear	橫衝直撞偷錯倩	Feydeau, Georges	喬汶·費杜	France	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1992.5.15-17 5.22-24	香港文化中心大劇院 沙田大會堂演奏廳	香港話劇團
1992		芳心亂墜		碧芙漢妮		潘芳芳、勞敏心、勞敏思/譯	余振球	1992.6.17-20	香港文化中心劇場	第四線劇社
1992	The Marriage of Figaro	費加羅的婚禮	Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de	皮埃爾·博馬舍	France	David Hammond/改編	楊世彭	1992.6.26-7.11	香港文化中心劇場	香港話劇團

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						楊世彭/譯				
1992	The Dumb Waiter	送菜升降機	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK		梁子麒	1992.7.3-8	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	演戲家族
1992	The Dracula Spectacula	吸血嘩鬼做大Show	Gardiner, John	約翰·嘉定拿	UK	古天農/譯	夏里斯	1992.7.23-26	香港文化中心劇場	中英劇團
1992	Run for Your Wife	花心大丈夫	Cooney, Ray		UK			1992.8.5-9	屯門大會堂演奏廳	藝進同學會
1992	Noises Off	蝦碌戲班	Frayn, Michael		UK	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1992.8.7-16	香港大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協會
1992		人獸之間	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany			1992.8.8-9	西灣河文娛中心劇院	戲派劇團
1992	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA	湯新楣、劉文漢/譯	顏協明	1992.8.10-11	香港文化中心劇場	管子劇社
1992	The Little Prince	小王子	Saint-Exupery, Antoine de	安東·埃修伯	France	白耀燦/改編	白耀燦	1992.8.27-30	沙田大會堂文娛廳	沙田話劇團
1992	Twice Around the Park	已婚男女的遊戲指南	Schisgal, Murray		USA	陳志樺/譯	陳志樺	1992.8.28-31	香港文化中心劇場	湛青劇社
1992	I Ought to be in Pictures	吾該留影	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	羅潤輝/譯	關頌陽	1992.9.2-5	香港大會堂劇院	糊塗戲班
1992	Come Blow Your Horn	兩兄弟一條心	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	林偉洪/譯	喬寶忠	1992.9.4,6 9.13	荃灣大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	第四線劇社
1992		上窮逼落下黃泉	Erdman, Nikolai	尼古拉·艾德曼	Russia	陳鈞潤	莊舜姬	1992.9.9-15	香港大會堂劇院	中英劇團
1992		兩隻腳劇場 a)童心未盡 b)一屋蟻		嘉莉·杜兒 卡爾維諾		李惜英/譯 鄭綺釵/改編	鄭綺釵 林英傑	1992.9.18-27	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	赫墾坊劇團
1992		詩人與租金				潘詩韻	陳曙曦	1992.9.20	荃灣大會堂文娛廳	佚名劇團
1992	Pride and Prejudice	傲慢與偏見	Austen, Jane	簡·奧斯丁	UK			1992.9.25-27	西灣河文娛中心劇院	學友社
1992	The Seagull	維奇	Chekhov, Anton	契訶夫	Russia	陳永/改編	陳永	1992.9.26	高山劇場	荃灣青年劇藝社
1992	Steel Magnolias	長繫我心	Harling, Robert	羅拔·夏寧	USA	孫惠芳，勞敏心/譯	余振球	1992.10.15-18	香港文化中心劇場	香港基督徒文娛協會
1992	Hobson's Choice	女大不中留	Brighouse, Harold		UK			1992.10.16-17	上環文娛中心劇院	西城劇社、藝臻劇社、永申劇社、耀菁服務團
1992	The Seagull	a)維奇	Chekhov, Anton	契訶夫	Russia	陳永/改編	陳永	1992.10.24-25	荃灣大會堂文娛廳	荃灣青年劇藝社
	The Proposal	b)求婚	Chekhov, Anton	契訶夫	Russia	曹靖華/譯	潘立本			
1992		愛情俘虜	Shepard, Sam	森·薛柏	USA	張可堅、凌紹安/譯	鍾炳霖	1992.10.29-30	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	海豹劇團
1992		法網雄心		大衛·加利			李永元	1992.11.10-15	香港文化中心劇場	編導製作
1992	Fools	烏龍鎮	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	編	麥秋	1992.11.27-29	屯門大會堂文娛廳	中天製作

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								12.25-27	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	
1992		嬰兒殺戮	山本有三		Japan		張振中	1992.11.28-29	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	思定劇社
1992	The Hound of Baskervilles	魔犬	Doyle, Arthur Conan	柯道爾	UK	余翰廷/改編	余翰廷	1992.12.7-12	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1992	Nothing Sacred	百無禁忌	Walker, George F.	喬治·華克	Canada	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭、Edward Hastings	1992.12.8-13	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
1992	Na Dne	夜店	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia			1992.12.12	上環文娛中心演講廳	香港普通話研習社
1992	The Dracula Spectacula	吸血嘩鬼做大Show	Gardiner, John	約翰·嘉定拿	UK	古天農/譯	孫惠芳	1992.12.19-20,22	上環文娛中心劇院	中英劇團
1993	Laughing Wild	你的行爲使我感到恐懼	Durang, Christopher	基斯杜化·杜蘭	USA	胡海輝/譯	胡海輝	1993	中文大學邵逸夫堂	糊塗戲班
1993	Fools	烏龍鎮	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	[illegible]編	麥秋	1993.1.1-3	沙田大會堂演奏廳	中天製作
1993	The Comedy of Errors	難得糊塗	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		梁寶珠老師	1993.1.3-16	沙田大會堂文娛廳	香港中國婦女會馮堯敬紀念中學
1993	Hamlet	雞	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳麗芬、陳活碩/改編	陳啓源	1993.1.5-6	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	荃灣青年劇藝社
1993	The Chinese Wall	中國長城	Frisch, Max	麥士·費施	Switzerland	黃雅儀/譯	張偉源	1993.1.11-16	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1993	Laughing Wild	你的行爲使我感到恐懼	Durang, Christopher	基斯杜化·杜蘭	USA	胡海輝/譯	胡海輝	1993.2.2-4	上環文娛中心演講廳	糊塗戲班
1993	The Days of the Commune	巴黎公社興亡錄	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	譚榮邦/譯	鄧樹榮	1993.1.15-17	香港文化中心大劇院	力行劇社
1993	The Trial	審判	Kafka, Franz		Czech Republic	鄧樹榮/改編	古天農	1993.1.15-20	西灣河文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1993	Other People's Money	他人的錢	Sterner, Jerry	謝利·史汀拿	USA	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1993.1.30-2.14	香港文化中心劇場	香港話劇團
1993		俠盜張師奶	Fo, Dario	戴里奧·夫	Italy	茹國烈/譯	茹國烈	1993.2.25-28	大會堂劇院	湛青劇社
1993	Frankie and Johnny in the Clair de Lune	明月他鄉倆心知	McNally, Terrence		USA	吳嘉美、廖淑芬/譯	張錦程	1993.3.4-7	大會堂劇院	演戲家族
1993		格仔情緣		羅蘭士·海門		李永元/改編	李永元	1993.3.4-9	香港文化中心劇場	編導製作
1993	West Side Story	夢斷城西	Laurents, Arthur	亞瑟·羅倫斯	USA	[illegible]譯	鍾景輝	1993.3.9-14	演藝學院歌劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1993	Our Town	小鎮也瘋狂	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA	陳敢權/改編	陳敢權	1993.3.19-21	藝術中心壽臣劇院	海豹劇團基金
1993	Happy Birthday	錯體派對	Camoletti, Marc	瑪·金梅勒迪	France	Beverly Cross/改編 關頌陽/譯	關頌陽	1993.3.29-4.3	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1993	Jacques and His Master	偷情宿命論	Kundera, Milan		Czech Republic	茹國烈/譯	李國威	1993.4.10-12 4.20-23	香港文化中心劇場	理工學生會戲劇社
1993		處女已死	Lorca, Federico Garcia		Spain		陳桂芬	1993.4.23-25	香港文化中心劇場	演藝.演藝

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1993		死囚	Hart, Ron		UK	魏明/改編	陳啓源	1993.4.24-25	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	荃灣青年劇藝社
1993	Laughing Wild	你的行爲使我感到恐懼	Durang, Christopher	基斯杜化·杜蘭	USA	胡海輝/譯	胡海輝	1993.4.30-5.2	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	糊塗戲班
1993	In the Zone	戰線	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA	陳敢權/譯	陳敢權	1993.4.29-5.1	沙田大會堂文娛廳	沙田話劇團
	Riders to the Sea	海上騎士	Synge, John M.	約翰辛格	UK	馬清照/譯	陳慧蓮			
1993	The Miracle Worker	創奇者	Gibson, William	威廉·基遜	USA/Canada		鍾一鳴	1993.5.3-8	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1993	The Proposal	婚事	Gogol, Nikolai	果戈里	Russia		趙震宇	1993.5.7-8	大會堂劇院	彩虹業餘劇藝社
1993	Skin	皮膚	Foon, Dennis	甫丹尼	USA	莫倩茹/譯	莊舜姬	1993.5.7-14	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1993	A Ladies' Macbeth		Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	Marowitz/改編		1993.5.12-16	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	雅傳劇團
1993	King Lear	李爾王	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1993.5.15-23	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
1993	Looking for Rainbow	雨後彩虹	(an adaptation of four medieval plays)			黎翠珍/譯 Colin George/改編	George, Colin	1993.5.19-22	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1993		最佳拍檔闖情關	Plowman, Gillian		UK	李耀光、茹國烈/譯	李耀光	1993.5.20-23	香港文化中心劇場	觀塘劇團
1993		一起吠過的日子	Kass, Jerome		USA	余振球/譯	麥光煇	1993.5.21-24	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	7474劇社
		一孖公母一孖床	Anderson, Robert	羅拔·安達臣	USA	莫倩茹/譯	守辰			
1993		勾心鬥角之地產風雲				黃浩義/譯	黃浩義	1993.5.28-6.2	大會堂劇院	浩采製作
1993	My Friend Miss Flint	逃稅威龍	Churchill, Donald and Peter Yeldham		UK/Australia		司徒偉健	1993.6.4-5 6.11-12 6.18-19	屯門大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳 沙田大會堂文娛廳	湛青劇社
1993		鴨蛋街(烏龍)殺人事件	Labiche, Eugene	尤金·萊比栗	France	鄧樹榮/改編	鄧樹榮	1993.6.10-14	香港文化中心劇場	第四線劇社
1993	Twelfth Night	元宵	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤	周偉強	1993.6.19	香港文化中心劇場	羅富國教育學院學生會
1993	A View from the Bridge	愛火照長橋	Miller, Arthur	阿瑟·密勒	USA		陳正君	1993.6.25-27	香港文化中心劇場	赤犢劇團
1993	Absurd Person Singular	三對冤家三個家	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK	古天農/譯	何偉龍	1993.7.23-31	上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1993	Monkey See Monkey Do	馬騮戲(兒童劇)	Keller, Bruce	布斯·奇勒	Australia	阮志雄/譯		1993.7.24 7.25 7.31	沙田大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳 北區大會堂	中英劇團

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								8.1 8.14 8.15	屯門大會堂文娛廳 北區大會堂演奏廳 元朗聿修堂活動室	
1993		與鯊共舞	Nigro, Don		USA	彭杏英/譯	李銘森	1993.7.29-8.2	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	嘉士伯灣仔劇團
1993	Whale	灰鯨	Holman, David	大衛·荷曼	Australia	陳鈞潤/譯	李鎮洲	1993.7.29-8.1	西灣河文娛中心劇院	中英劇團
1993		奶茶祭奠	Menchell, Ivan		USA	黃雅儀/譯	黃雅儀	1993.8.6-7	藝術中心壽臣劇院	誠與承劇團
1993		茶煲姊妹花		保利·皮亞遜		李永元/改編	李永元	1993.8.11-17	香港文化中心劇場	編導製作
1993	Move Over, Mrs. Markham!	撞板風流	Cooney, Ray and John Chapman		UK	司徒偉健	張可堅	1993.8.26-28 9.3-4 9.7-9	屯門大會堂演奏廳 荃灣大會堂演奏廳 沙田大會堂演奏廳	中天製作
1993	Driving Miss Daisy	山水喜相逢	Uhry, Alfred		USA	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1993.8.26-28 9.3-5	牛池灣文娛中心劇場 西灣河文娛中心劇院	赫墾坊劇團
1993		開放雙人床 弊傢伙!阿邊個來左!	Fo, Dario Frayn, Michael	戴里奧·夫	Italy UK		茹國烈 陳志樺	1993.9.1-4	香港文化中心劇場	湛青劇社
1993	Other People's Money	他人的錢	Sterner, Jerry	謝利·史汀拿	USA	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1993.9.10-14 9.16-19	西灣河文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1993		花箋言情	Gurney, A. R.		USA		葉詠儀	1993.9.17-19	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	雙聲道製作
1993	The Lesson	驚驗補習	Ionesco, Eugene	尤金·詫奧尼斯高	France	潘詩韻、詹瑞文/譯	張藝生	1993.9.21-22,27-30	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	劇場組合
1993		瘋癲皇帝	Pirandello, Luigi	皮藍德婁	Italy	陳敢權/譯	陳敢權	1993.10.1-7	演藝學院戲劇院	香港戲劇協會
1993		常規命案例外版	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany		鄭傳軍	1993.10.5-7	上環文娛中心劇院	大專戲劇陣線
1993		莎莉要飛	Russell, Willy	威利·羅素	UK	茹國烈/譯	麥秋	1993.10.12-19	演藝學院戲劇院	中天製作
1993	The Balcony	情慾陽台	Genet, Jean	尚·紀涅	France	陳敢權/譯	Preston, Travis	1993.11.3-6	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1993		由盲開始....		約翰·莫巴				1993.11.12-14	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	思定劇社
1993	Temptation	誘惑	Havel, Vaclav	哈維爾	Czech Republic	鄭振初/譯	鄭振初	1993.11.13-14	上環文娛中心劇院	戲集演出
1993	Next	下一位 真相假相 偉大?你想!	McNally, Terrence Schisgal, Murray Schisgal, Murray		USA USA USA		歐美芳 鄭婉儀 鄧鳳明	1993.11.20	香港文化中心劇場	湛青劇社

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1993	Move Over, Mrs. Markham!	撞板風流	Cooney, Ray and John Chapman		UK	司徒偉健	張可堅	1993.11.25	元朗聿修堂	中天製作
1993	Miss Margarida's Way	冇爺生,有嫲教	Athayde, Roberto	羅拔圖·阿希特	Brazil	何應豐、鄧樹榮/改編	何應豐	1993.12.10-19	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	剛劇場
1993	M. Butterfly	蝴蝶君	黃哲倫		USA	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1993.12.10-23	上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1993		馬尾蛋撻少年時之少男情懷總是...	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	阮潔儀/改編	阮潔儀	1993.12.17-19	香港文化中心劇場	赤犢劇團
1994	The Father	父親	Strindberg, August	史特林堡	Sweden	陳永/改編	黃翠儀	1994.1.6-7	荃灣大會堂文娛廳	荃灣青年劇藝社
1994	Baby with the Bath Water	BB凍過水	Durang, Christopher	基斯杜化·杜蘭	USA	魏綺珊/譯	關頌陽	1994.1.7-9	香港文化中心劇場	糊塗戲班
1994	Move Over, Mrs. Markham!	撞板風流	Cooney, Ray and John Chapman		UK	司徒偉健	張可堅	1994.1.13-14 1994.1.19-21	上環文娛中心劇院 荃灣大會堂演奏廳	中天製作
1994	Twelfth Night	第十二夜	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	廖梅姬/譯	林立三	1994.1.19-22	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1994	Macbeth	慾望城國	Shakespeare, William		UK			1994.1.20-22	香港文化中心大劇院	當代傳奇劇場
1994	Major Barbara	芭巴拉少校	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	英若誠/譯	英若誠	1994.1.28-2.5	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
1994		籠煲神探/錯鴛鴦	Shaffer, Peter	彼德·舒化	UK	廖梅姬/譯	李銘森	1994.1.28-2.2	西灣河文娛中心劇院	嘉士伯灣仔劇團
1994		馬尾蛋撻少年時之少男情懷總是...	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	阮潔儀/改編	阮潔儀	1994.2.3-4	上環文娛中心劇院	赤犢劇團
1994		奴婢樂				陳炳釗/改編	陳炳釗	1994.2.4-8	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	沙磚上
1994	Room Service	科班落難喜逢春	Boretz, Allen and John Murray	約翰·泰萊、亞倫·波里森	USA	陳鈞潤/改編	李國威	1994.3.2-4	高山劇場	第四線劇社
1994		冇爺生,有嫲教	Athayde, Roberto	羅拔圖·阿希特	Brazil	何應豐、鄧樹榮/改編	何應豐	1994.3.15,17	中文大學邵逸夫堂	剛劇場
1994	Intrigue and Love	愛情與陰謀	Schiller, Friedrich von	席勒	Germany	廖輔叔、楊武能/譯	李銘森	1994.3.28-4.2	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1994	Love Letters	情信	Gurney, A. R.		USA	吳嘉美/譯	張錦程	1994.3.31-4.5	香港文化中心劇場	演戲家族
1994		冇爺生,有嫲教	Athayde, Roberto	羅拔圖·阿希特	Brazil		何應豐	1994.4.14-16	中文大學邵逸夫堂	剛劇場
1994	Clue	逐個捉		約南頓·連		李永元/改編		1994.4.23-24 4.30-5.1	荃灣大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	編導製作
1994		月黑風高殺人夜	Levin, Ira		USA	頤羲/譯	鄧樹榮	1994.4.29-5.1 5.4-6	牛池灣文娛中心劇院 上環文娛中心劇院	赫墾坊劇團
1994	Amadeus	莫扎特之死	Shaffer, Peter	彼德·舒化	UK	陳載澧、張曼儀/譯	劉兆璋、鄧偉傑	1994.5.1-11	大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協會

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1994	Adding Machine	加數機	Rice, Elmer	艾馬·萊斯	USA	胡海輝/譯	張偉源	1994.5.4-7	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1994		脂肪拜拜	Dixcy, Marcia		USA	葉麗娥/改編	黃敏儀	1994.5.6-8	沙田大會堂文娛廳	沙田話劇團
1994	You Can't Take It With You	不搶錢家族	Hart, Moss and George S. Kaufman	摩斯·赫特、喬治·卡夫曼	USA	陳敢權/譯	陳敢權	1994.5.7-22	香港文化中心劇場	香港話劇團
1994		愛情扭計骰	Patrick, John		USA	彭杏英/譯	余振球	1994.5.13-18	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	嘉士伯灣仔劇團
1994	Getting Out	鐵窗	Norman, Marsha	瑪莎·羅曼	USA	陳敢權/譯	傅月美	1994.5.23-28	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1994	Move Over, Mrs. Markham!	撞板風流	Cooney, Ray and John Chapman		UK	司徒偉健	張可堅	1994.6.2-7	香港文化中心大劇院	中天製作
1994	Accidental Death of an Anarchist	百變包青天之反轉雜差房	Fo, Dario	戴里奧·夫	Italy	李國威/譯	李國威	1994.6.3-5 6.11 6.13-14	沙田大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳	第四線劇社
1994	The Sound of Murder	扭計情殺案	Fairchild, William		UK	余翰廷/改編	余翰廷、關頌陽	1994.6.3-6	香港文化中心劇場	觀塘劇團
1994	The Little Prince	小王子	Saint-Exupery, Antoine de		France	杜偉昌/改編		1994.6.17-18	藝穗會	Youth Arts Theatre Company
1994	The Visit	似是故人來	Durrenmatt, Friedrich	弗德烈·杜倫馬	Switzerland	陸華盛/譯	何偉龍	1994.7.1-12	上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1994	The Importance of Being Earnest	不可兒戲	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK	余光中/譯		1994.7.7-9	香港文化中心劇場	羅富國教育學院學生會
1994		戲語/對話				何應豐/譯	何應豐	1994.8.11-14	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	剛劇場
1994	Edmond	狂獸之城	Mamet, David	大衛·馬文	USA	梁子麒/譯	梁子麒	1994.8.11-18	大會堂劇院	演戲家族
1994	Tea and Sympathy	茶與同情	Anderson, Robert	羅拔·安達臣	USA	陳敢權/譯	鄭傳軍	1994.8.12-14	香港文化中心劇場	赤贇劇團
1994		尋根姊妹花		雲迪·韋莎斯坦		勞敏心、張可堅	余振球	1994.8.27-30	香港文化中心劇場	第四線劇社
1994		格仔情緣				李永元/改編	李永元	1994.8.31-9.3 1994.9.6-9	上環文娛中心劇院 牛池灣文娛中心劇院	編導製作
1994	Six Degrees of Separation	六度疏離	Guare, John		USA	黃雅儀	黃雅儀	1994.9.2-4	香港文化中心劇場	誠與承劇團
1994	Move Over, Mrs. Markham!	撞板風流	Cooney, Ray and John Chapman		UK	司徒偉健	張可堅	1994.9.2-8	香港文化中心大劇院	中天製作
1994	Tea and Sympathy	茶與同情	Anderson, Robert	羅拔·安達臣	USA	陳敢權/譯	鄭傳軍	1994.9.12-14		赤贇劇團
1994	The Lover	情人	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK		胡海輝	1994.9.16-18	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	105劇團
1994	The Norman Conquests: Round and Round the Garden	客廳、飯廳、後花園之情盪後花園	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK	高祖怡/譯	關頌陽	1994.9.23-25	香港文化中心劇場	糊塗戲班
1994	Tons of Money	鬼馬鴛鴦奪寶記	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK	司徒偉健	麥秋	1994.10.6-8	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	中天製作

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								10.13-15 10.22-23 12.1-7	沙田大會堂演奏廳 屯門大會堂演奏廳 香港文化中心大劇院	
1994	Clue	逐個捉		約南頓·連		李永元/改編	李永元	1994.10.20-23 10.25-28	牛池灣文娛中心劇院 上環文娛中心劇院	編導製作
1994	These Childish Things	狗臉的歲月	Cousse, Raymond	雷文·高斯	France	蘇玉華/譯	鄧偉傑	1994.10.26-31	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	同流工作坊
1994		不速怪客				鍾一鳴/譯	鍾一鳴	1994.10.28-30	荃灣大會堂文娛廳	演藝.演藝
1994	The Good Woman of Sichuan	四川一個好女人	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	梵風/改編	傅若鵬	1994.11.16-20	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	荃灣青年劇藝社 &
1994	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	桑頓·懷爾德	USA	湯新楣、劉文漢/譯	甘銘泰	1994.11.17-20	大會堂劇院	嘉士伯灣仔劇團
1994	Guys and Dolls	紅男綠女	Swerling, Jo and Abe Burrows		USA	海滴/譯	鍾景輝、林立三	1994.11.22-27	演藝學院歌劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1994	Blace Elk Speaks	黑鹿開口了	Neihardt, John G.	約翰·尼克	USA	楊世彭/譯	Marley, Donovan	1994.12.2-18	香港文化中心劇場	香港話劇團
1994	A Lie of the Mind	片片謊言夢裡尋	Shepard, Sam	森·薛柏	USA	毛俊輝/譯	毛俊輝	1994.12.5-10	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1994-1995	The Good Woman of Sichuan	媽媽說要移民了…..	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	盧偉力、陳炳釗/改編	馬松漢	1994-1995	學校巡迴演出	中英劇團
		噹Dum好人	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany		盧偉力		學校巡迴演出	
1995	the Caucasian Chalk Circle	高加索灰蘭記	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	舒志義、何綺雲、[illegible]譯	岑偉宗	1995.1.18-21	沙田大會堂文廳	丁劇坊
1995	It Runs in the Family	風流醫生手尾長	Cooney, Ray		UK	陳鈞潤	麥秋	1995.1.21-23	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	中天製作
1995	Rise and Rise of Daniel Rocket	飛翔的童話	Parnell, Peter	彼德·彭洛	USA	陳敢權/改編	陳敢權	1995.1.25-28	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1995		冇爺生,有嗰教	Athayde, Roberto	羅拔圖·阿希特	Brazil	何應豐、鄧樹榮/改編	何應豐	1995.1.25-29	香港文化中心劇場	剛劇場
1995	Tons of Money	鬼馬鴛鴦奪寶記	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK	司徒偉健	麥秋	1995.1.27-2.5	演藝學院歌劇院	中天製作
1995	Marvin's Room	愛生病家庭	McPherson, Scott		USA	李國威/改編	李國威	1995.2.3-5	沙田大會堂文娛廳	沙田話劇團
1995	Double Bass	小男人拉大琴	Suskind, Patrick	派屈克·徐四金	Germany	鄧樹榮/譯	鄧樹榮	1995.3.2-5	演藝學院戲劇院	毛俊輝與剛劇場
1995	Cat on a Hot Tin Roof	朱門怨婦	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1995.3.4-19	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1995	The Tea House of August Moon	秋月茶居	Patrick, John		USA		張文慧	1995.2.23-24	上環文娛中心劇院	香港城市理工學生會劇社
1995	Accidental Death of an Anarchist	無政府主義者的意外死亡	Fo, Dario	戴里奧·夫	Italy	鄧偉傑/譯	鄧偉傑	1995.2.27-3.4	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

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1995	Safe Sex	安全性行爲	Fierstein, Harvey	夏菲·費爾斯坦	USA	于逸堯、柏立文、 翟美鳳/改編	于逸堯、王子、謝建民	1995.3.16-19	香港文化中心劇場	糊塗戲班
1995	It Runs in the Family	風流醫生手尾長	Cooney, Ray		UK	陳鈞潤	麥秋	1995.3.16-31	演藝學院歌劇院	中天製作
1995		教我如何不愛爸	Anderson, Robert	羅拔·安達臣	USA	勞敏心、張可堅/譯	余振球	1995.3.23-26	大會堂劇院	第四線劇社
1995	怡紅院.掃把星..萬夫莫敵	怡紅院.掃把星..萬夫莫敵	Aristophanes	亞里斯多芬尼茲	Greece	凡水/改編	潘立本	1995.4.22-23	西灣河文娛中心劇院	荃灣青年劇藝社
1995		嚐Dum好人	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	陳炳釗，盧偉力/改編	盧偉力	1995.4.27-30 5.4-7	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	中英劇團
1995	Three Sisters	三姊妹	Chekhov, Anton	安東·契訶夫	Russia	毛俊輝/譯	Markus, Tom	1995.5.6-21	大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
1995	It Runs in the Family	風流醫生手尾長	Cooney, Ray		UK	陳鈞潤	麥秋	1995.5.9-13	沙田大會堂演奏廳	中天製作
1995	What the Butler Saw	醫生也瘋狂	Orton, Joe		UK	張頌文	蔡國強、李振源	1995.5.18-20	上環文娛中心劇院	彩虹劇社
1995	Spring Awakening	青春的覺醒	Wedekind, Frank	魏德·金德	Germany	周偉強、胡偉輝/譯	鄧安力	1995.5.29-6.3	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1995	As Is	既來滋、則安之	Hoffman, William	威廉·荷曼	USA	凌昭安/譯	鍾炳霖	1995.6		第四線劇社
1995	Death of a Salesman	推銷員之死	Miller, Arthur	亞瑟米勒	USA	張可堅/譯	麥秋	1995.6.21-28	大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協會
1995	The Servant of Two Masters	一僕二主	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy	鄧樹榮/譯	何偉龍	1995.8.11-25	上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1995	The Proposal	a)求婚	Chekhov, Anton	契訶夫	Russia	蔡定祥/譯		1995.8.17-19	藝穗會	105劇團
		b)媽媽離家的那天				蔡定祥/譯	李達仁			
1995	Man of La Mancha	夢幻騎士	Wasserman, Dale		USA	高峰/譯	陳啓源	1995.9.21-24	香港文化中心劇場	荃灣青年劇藝社
1995	Twelve Angry Men	十二怒漢	Rose, Reginald		USA			1995.9.26-27	沙田大會堂文娛廳	亂描舍
1995	Hamletmachine	哈姆雷特機器	Muller, Heiner	海諾·穆勒	Germany	鍾明德/鄧樹榮/譯	陳炳釗/鄧樹榮	1995.9.29-10.15	西灣河文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
	The Bald Soprano	禿頭女高音	Ionesco, Eugene	尤金·意奧尼斯高	France					
1995	Christmas Adventure	王老闆聖誕夜撞鬼	Dickens, Charles	查理士·狄更斯	UK	余振球、招世亮/改編	余振球	1995.10.20-22	香港文化中心劇場	香港青年基督徒劇團
1995	Move Over, Mrs. Markham!	撞板風流	Cooney, Ray and John Chapman		UK	司徒偉健/譯及改編	張可堅	1995.11.2-12.3	演藝學院歌劇院	中天製作
1995	Lust for Life	梵高傳	Stone, Irving		USA		徐廣林	1995.11.14-17	大會堂劇院	彩虹劇社
1995	The Taming of the Shrew	馴悍記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK			1995.11.16-18	香港國際學校劇院	香港國際學校學生
1995	Talking With …	女人謐語	Martin, Jane		USA	盧素敏/譯	余振球	1995.11.17-19	沙田大會堂文娛廳	香港基督徒文娛協會

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1995	Hunting Cockroaches	將甲由趕盡殺絕	Glowacki, Janusz	耶洛殊·古域斯基	Poland	周偉強/譯	周偉強	1995.11.20-25	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1995	Death of a Salesman	推銷員之死	Miller, Arthur	亞瑟米勒	USA	張可堅/譯	麥秋	1995.12	荃灣大會堂	香港戲劇協會
1995	Hobson's Choice	女大不中留	Brighouse, Harold		UK	陳鈞潤/改編	蕭鍵鏗	1995.12.6-10	西灣河文娛中心劇院	戲劇團
1995	Happy Birthday	壹屋兩對野鴛鴦	Camoletti, Marc		France	Beverly Cross/改編 關頌陽、鍾一鳴/編譯	關頌陽、鍾一鳴	1995.12.7-10	香港文化中心劇場	901劇社
1995	Ordinary People	普通人	Gilsenan, Nancy (from the book by Judith Guest)	南西·基士蘭	USA	沈家卓、余禮珍/譯	沈家卓	1995.12.11-16	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1995	Beauty and the Beast	美女與野獸		威廉格倫		王添強/改編 陳有儀/譯	王添強	1995.12.24- 1996.1.1	牛池灣大會堂演奏廳 西灣河大會堂演奏廳	佚名劇團
1995	Snow White Pinocchio	白雪公主 木偶奇遇記	Grimm Brothers Way, Brian and Warren Jenkins		Germany UK			1995.12.30-31	香港文化中心大劇院	包勤力活偶劇團
1996	Betrayal	背叛性行爲	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK	頤羲/譯	張秉權	1996.1.5-7 1.12-13 1.19-20		赫墾坊劇團
1996	Spring Fever Hotel	禧春酒店	Feydeau, Georges and Maurice Desvallieres	喬治·緋都、莫禮士·笛華爾茲	France	陳鈞潤	黃美蘭	1996.1.5-14		中英劇團
1996	Laughter on the 23rd Floor	廿三樓.攪笑友	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	司徒偉健/改編 潘詩韻/譯	余振球	1996.1.11-14		第四線劇社
1996	Beauty and the Beast	美女與野獸		威廉格倫		王添強/改編 陳有儀/譯	王添強	1996.2.3-4 2.10-11		佚名劇團
1996		夢起航	Willems, Paul	保羅·威廉	Belgium	胡海輝/譯	胡海輝	1996.2.5-10		香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1996	Twelfth Night	第十二夜	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK		孟京輝	1996.2.15-17		沙田話劇團
1996		拖鞋情人	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK		梁美寶	1996.3.16-17 3.22-23 3.30-31		湛青劇社
1996	Snow White	白雪公主 (音樂劇)	Grimm Brothers	格林兄弟	Germany	岑偉宗、司徒偉健/改編	麥秋	1996.4.6-9 4.12-14		中天製作及耀榮娛樂

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								4.17-21		
1996		不一樣的媽媽 飲勝男女 口角之間 公園小聚	Ayckbourn, Alan	阿倫·艾克邦	UK	鄧偉傑/譯	鄧偉傑	1996.4.13-14		平凡劇社
1996	The Oak Tree: An Odyssey	闖進一棵橡樹的年輪	Woolf, Virginia		UK	潘惠森/改編	陳麗珠、紀文舜	1996.4.24-25		進劇場
1996		她的謊話如果有了翅膀	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	馮家良	馮家良	1996.4.26-27		亂描舍
1996	Ghosts	群鬼	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	舒志義、郭梁平、何綺雲、韓韻芝、何家賢/譯	岑偉宗	1996.4.26-29		丁劇坊
1996	The Shadow Box	明月明年何處看	Cristofer, Michael	米高·基斯杜化	USA	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	1996.5.3-19		香港話劇團
1996	Lovely Sunday for Creve Coeur, A	瘋花夢醉星期天	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA	鄭傳軍/譯	鄭傳軍	1996.5.13-18		香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1996	The Dracula Spectacula	吸血嘩鬼做大Show	Gardiner, John	約翰·嘉定拿	UK	古天農/譯	孫惠芳	1996.5.16-22		中英劇團
1996	Lost in Yonkers	一起走過嫲嫲煩煩的日子	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	方家煌/譯	傅月美	1996.5.24-6.1		香港戲劇協會
1996	The Physicists	物理學家	Durrenmatt, Friedrich	迪倫馬特	Switzerland	陳敢權	陳敢權	1996.5.29-6.1		香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1996	Towards Zero	零時倒數	Christie, Agatha		UK	陳鈞潤/譯	張可堅	1996.6.14-16 6.20-22 6.29-30		中天製作
1996	Children of a Lesser God	次神的兒女	Medoff, Mark	馬克·麥道夫	USA	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1996.6.28-7.6		香港話劇團
1996	The Oak Tree: An Odyssey	闖進一棵橡樹的年輪	Woolf, Virginia		UK	潘惠森/改編	陳麗珠、紀文舜	1996.7.5-7		進劇場
1996	Down the Road	低等動物	Blessing, Lee		USA	茹國烈/譯	司徒慧焯	1996.7.12-21		演戲家族
1996	Sound of Music, The	仙樂飄飄處處聞 (音樂劇)			USA	李麗詩/譯	麥秋	1996.7.19-21		中天製作
1996	Snow White	白雪公主 (音樂劇)	Grimm Brothers	格林兄弟	Germany	岑偉宗、司徒偉健/改編	麥秋	1996.8.9-24		中天製作及耀榮娛樂
1996	The School for Scandal	造謠學堂	Sheridan, Richard	李察·謝里丹	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	Woronicz, Henry	1996.8.10-25		香港話劇團
1996	La Locandiera	女店主	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy	焦菊隱/譯	曾智昌	1996.8.17-18		一台戲劇社

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1996	Children of a Lesser God	次神的兒女	Medoff, Mark	馬克·麥道夫	USA	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1996.8.23-24		香港話劇團
1996	Witness for the Prosecution	控方證人	Christie, Agatha	亞嘉泰·克莉絲蒂	UK	盧景文/譯	張可堅	1996.8.29-9.1		拾悅棧
1996	Effect of Gamma Rays On Man-In-The-Moon Marigolds, The	月亮上的希望金盞菊	Zindel, Paul		USA	陳敏儀/譯	余振球	1996.9.13-15		香港基督徒文娛協會
1996	Torch Strong Trilogy	同「性」三分親	Fierstein, Harvey	夏飛·費斯坦	USA	鄭傳軍/譯	鄭傳軍	1996.10.10-13		赤犢劇團
1996	Rashomon	羅生門	Ryunosuke	芥川龍之介	Japan	張可堅/改編 鍾景輝/譯	麥秋, 張可堅	1996.11.3-9		香港戲劇協會
1996		割症	Dickinson, Thomas H.	狄鏗生	USA		麥正麟	1996.11.15-17		105劇團
1996	Damn Yankees	捧球狂想曲	Abbott, George and Douglas Wallop	佐治亞寶特、德格拉斯華洛	USA	陳敢權/譯	鄧偉傑、林立三	1996.11.19-24		香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1996	A Doll's House	玩偶之家	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	薛俊良/改編	高繼祥	1996.11.22-24		思定劇社
1996		晚餐開N次方	Lapine, James		USA	周碧琳	陳敏斌	1996.11.29-12.1		平凡劇社
1996	Thieves' Carnival	小偷嘉年華	Anouilh, Jean	尚·阿努伊	France	詹玲玲、林雅珠/譯	廖裕修	1996.12.9-14		香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1996	Betrayal Wasteland	不忠 荒地	Pinter, Harold	夏洛·品特	UK	趙汝俊、袁啓亮/譯 劉雅緻、袁惠兒/譯	黃楫京、鄭詩靈、譚啓銘 廖得安、何美儀、劉雅緻、杜偉德	1996.12.13-14		亂描舍
1997		赤裸孩子	Mahoney, Dino	馬志豪	UK	馬松漢/譯	馬松漢	1997	藝術中心.壽臣劇院	赤裸孩子劇團
1997	The Odd Couple	單身俱樂部	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	黃耀光/譯	蕭鍵鏗	1997.1.3-7	上環文娛中心劇院	香港影視劇團
1997	The Frog Prince	青娃王子	Mamet, David	大衛·馬密	USA	鄭傳軍/譯	鄭傳軍	1997.1.10-13	藝穗會綜藝室	赤犢劇團
1997	A Midsummer Night's Dream	仲夏夜之夢	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	1997.1.18-26	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
1997	A Picture of Dorian Gray	真相.假象	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK	約翰奧斯本/改編 何俊傑/譯	何俊傑	1997.1.27-2.1	香港演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1997	God's Favourite	非常天試	Simon, Neil	紐西蒙	USA	司徒偉健/譯	林立三	1997.1.31-2.2 2.21-23	西灣河文娛中心劇院 牛池灣文娛中心劇院	赫墾坊劇團
1997	Saint Joan	跟住個靚妹亾亾轉	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	毛俊輝/改編	毛俊輝	1997.2.14-19	文化中心劇場	毛俊輝實驗創作
1997	Can't Pay! Won't Pay!	米蘭街頭唔成世界瘋狂一日遊	Fo, Dario	戴里奧·夫	Italy	顏玉芬/譯	顏玉芬	1997.3.18-21	文化中心劇場	演藝.演藝
1997	Lakeboat	湖泊男兒	Mamet, David	大衛·馬密特	USA	洗振東/譯	洗振東	1997.3.17-22	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

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1997	WWII	叛艦記WWII	Wouk, Herman	夏文獲加	USA	張可堅/譯	余振球	1997.4.11-18	文化中心劇場	香港戲劇協會
1997	Safe Sex	愛著你套著你	Fierstein, Harvey		USA	于逸堯、翟美鳳、柏立文	胡海輝	1997.5.8-11	藝術中心壽臣劇院	演戲家族
1997		老友鬼鬼一家親				鍾愛芳	鍾愛芳	1997.5.10-11	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	彩虹劇社
1997	The Metamorphosis	蛻變	Kafka, Franz		Czech Republic	陳麗珠、妃文舜	陳麗珠	1997.5.22-25	文化中心劇場	進劇場
1997	Woyzeck	浮石傳	Buchner, Georg	格奧爾格·畢希納	Germany	陳恒輝/改編	陳恆輝	1997.5.26-31	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1997	The Metamorphosis		Kafka, Franz		Czech Republic			1997.6.12-14	藝穗會	劇場行動 Theatre Action
1997	A Doll's House	娜拉	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	潘家洵、白耀燦	白耀燦	1997.6.12-19	上環文娛中心劇院	香港影視劇團
1997		五個相撲的少年			Japan	梁嘉傑	李俊亮	1997.7.26-27 8.1-2 8.9	沙田大會堂演奏廳 荃灣大會堂演奏廳 屯門大會堂演奏廳	春天製作
1997	The Last Leaf	最後的一片藤葉	O'Henry	歐·亨利	USA	佚名/譯	盧繼成	1997.8.16	西灣河文娛中心劇院	雁飛翔劇團
1997		單身女郎彈性戀愛時間	Wasserstein, Wendy		USA	阮潔儀、黃嘉穎	陳正君	1997.9.17-20	香港文化中心劇場	赤犢劇團
1997	Baby with the Bath Water	BB 凍過水	Durang, Christopher	基斯杜化·杜蘭	USA	魏綺珊/改編	關頌陽	1997.9.19-21	上環文娛中心劇院	糊塗戲班
1997	Mother Courage and Her Children	沙膽大娘 Vs 沙膽大娘	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	盧偉力/改編	盧偉力	1997.9.20-1	屯門大會堂文娛廳	第四線劇場
1997	A View from the Bridge	飛越愛河橋	Miller, Arthur		USA		彭秀慧	1997.9.23-7	香港文化中心劇場	同流工作坊
1997	Mother Courage and Her Children	沙膽大娘 Vs 沙膽大娘	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	盧偉力/改編	盧偉力	1997.9.27-8	沙田大會堂文娛廳	第四線劇場
1997		黃子華-殺出廚房	Russell, Willy	威利·羅素	UK	廖裕修/改編	麥秋	1997.9.27-10.4	文代中心大劇院	James Mark Theatre consultant co.
1997		赤裸孩子(重演)	Mahoney, Dino	馬志豪	UK	馬松漢/譯	馬松漢	1997.10.6-7	中文大學邵逸夫堂	赤裸孩子劇團
1997	Pygmalion	窈窕淑女	Shaw, George Bernard	蕭伯納	UK	陳鈞潤/改編	古天農	1997.10.31-11.30	演藝學院歌劇院	春天製作
1997	The Doctor in Spite of Himself	屈打成醫	Molière	莫里哀	France	鄧偉傑/譯	毛俊輝	1997.12.1-6	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1997	A Christmas Carol	聖誕(三小鬼)故事	Dickens, Charles		UK	陳麗珠、紀文舜	陳麗珠、紀文舜	1997.12.12-14	沙田大會堂文娛廳	進劇場
1998		小籠女		治可夫·吉龍			馬松漢	1998.1.14-24	藝穗會La Cremeria劇場	赤裸孩子劇團與吾爾彼之邦
1998		媾和性罷工		亞里士多芬尼		陳鈞潤/改編	蔡錫昌	1998.1.16-19	沙田大會堂文娛廳	沙田話劇團
1998	Unidentified Human Remains and the True Nature of Love	心尋慾望怒情	Fraser, Brad	畢·菲斯	Canada	楊詩敏、李家榮/譯	楊詩敏	1998.1.19-24	香港演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

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1998	The Trial	審判	Kafka, Franz		Czech Republic			1998.2.6-7	牛池灣文娛中心劇場	香港教育學院戲劇學會
1998	The Dresser	風雨守衣箱	Harwood, Ronald	朗奴·哈伍德	South Africa	陳敢權/譯	鐘景輝、陳敢權	1998.2.21-24	香港演藝學院戲劇院	香港藝術節委約製作
1998		一顆恨嫁的心	Hogan, Paul John		Australia	向展鴻/改編	向展鴻	1998.3.3-8	香港藝術中心麥高小劇場	友演出劇團
1998	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	懷爾德	USA		麥秋	1998.3.23-24	上環文娛中心劇院	理工劇社
1998		媾和性罷工				蔡錫昌/改編	蔡錫昌	1998.4.17-19	香港文化中心劇場	沙田話劇團
1998	The Devils	魔鬼圍城	Whiting, John	約翰·華庭	UK	周偉強/譯	鄧安力	1998.5.6-9	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1998		坐繭呼天(希臘劇)		埃斯庫·羅斯	Greece	麥秋/改編 舒志義/譯	舒志義	1998.5.7-10	藝術中心麥高利小劇場	丁劇坊
1998	The Father	父親	Strindberg, August	史特林堡	Sweden	胡海輝/譯	傳月美	1998.5.25-30	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
	Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat	約瑟與神奇彩衣	Webber, Andrew Lloyd	安德魯·羅韋伯	UK			1998.6.2-7,9-14,16-21	香港文化中心大劇院	?
1998	The Imaginary Invalid	戇病夫妙計試真情	Molière	莫里哀	France	廖梅姬、何偉龍/改編 廖梅姬/譯	何偉龍	1998.6.19-7.5	西灣河文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
1998		髦髦與灰色的人	Ende, Michael		Germany	黃清俊/改編	李鎮洲	1998.7.25 8.1 8.2 8.9 8.17 8.22	沙田大會堂展覽廳 大埔文娛中心演奏廳 屯門大會堂展覽廳 北區大會堂活動室(二) 荃灣大會堂文娛廳 聿修堂演奏廳	中英劇團
1998		情・樓・感	Frayn, Michael	米高·弗雷恩	UK	司徒偉健	吳家禧	1998.9.11-16	香港大會堂劇院	赫墾坊劇團
1998	Six Characters in Search of an Author	六個作家的角色	Pirandello, Luigi		Italy			1998.11.14	藝術中心壽臣劇院	香港青年藝術協會有限公司及少年劇社
1998	The Wizard of Oz	綠野仙蹤	Baum, L. Frank		USA		林立三	1998.11.21-28	香港演藝學院歌劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1998	The Dresser	風雨守衣箱	Harwood, Ronald		South Africa			1998.11.24-28	香港演藝學院戲劇院	香港戲劇協會及香港演藝學院
1998	Les Liaisons Dangereuses	孽戀焚情	Hampton, Christopher	基斯杜化·咸美頓	UK	周偉強、胡海輝/譯	鄧安力	1998.12.14-19	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1999	Aladdin	丁燈	Morley, John		UK	莫倩茹	李鎮洲	1999.1.1-2	屯門大會堂演奏廳	中英劇團
								1999.1.8-9	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	
1999	The Marriage	婚事	Gogol, Nikolai	哥戈里	Russia		李銘森	1999.1.7-8	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

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1999		春寒・我不知道風・浮雲	Ayckbourn, Alan	亞倫·艾克邦	UK	周偉強/譯	蘇雅儀	1999.1.15-16	香港文化中心劇場	亂描舍
1999	Invisible Friends	隱形友	Ayckbourn, Alan	亞倫·艾克邦	UK	周偉強/譯	蘇雅儀	1999.1.18-23	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1999	Titanic	鐵達亂尼號	Durang, Christopher	基斯杜化·杜寧	USA	張可堅/譯	余振球	1999.1.22-24 29-30 2.6-7	沙田大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	
1999	Marisol	千禧瑪利亞	Rivera, José	荷西·韋法	USA	一休/譯	譚孔文	1999.2.8-13	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1999	Peer Gynt	培爾·金特	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	Michael Bogdanov/改編 陳鈞潤/譯	Bogdanov, Michael	1999.3.5-14	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
1999	Steel Magnolias	長繫我心	Harling, Robert	羅拔·夏寧	USA		傅月美	1999.3.22-27	香港演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1999	My Friend Miss Flint	逃稅威龍	Churchill, Donald and Peter Yeldham		UK/Australia			1999.3.26-27	北區大會堂演奏廳	新域劇團
1999	The Glass Menagerie	玻璃動物園	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA		毛俊輝	1999.3.30-31	香港演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1999		稅愈不饒人				司徒偉健、黃耀光、茹國烈	古世光	1999.3.30-31	香港文化中心劇場	香港理工大學學生會劇社
1999	Aladdin	丁燈	Morley, John		UK		李鎮洲	1999.4.2-18	藝術中心壽臣劇院	中英劇團
1999	Whose Wife is it Anyway?	誰家老婆上錯床	Cooney, Ray	雷·庫尼	UK	楊世彭	楊世彭	1999.4.23-5.12	香港文化中心劇場	香港話劇團
1999		婚姻勿語	橋田壽賀子		Japan		成澤加智	1999.4.30-5.1	上環文娛中心劇院	彩虹劇社
1999	The Royal Hunt of the Sun	獵日記	Shaffer, Peter	彼得·舒化	UK	陳敢權/譯	米高·杜本	1999.5.5-8	香港演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1999	La Locandiera	情迷老闆娘 Mirandolina	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy	鄧偉傑/譯	莊培德	1999.5.31-6.5	香港演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1999		麻煩姊妹花	McPherson, Scott	史葛·麥費臣	USA	周偉強/譯	余振球	1999.6.3-6	香港大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協會
1999	The Little Prince	小王子	Saint-Exupery, Antoine de		France			1999.8.20-22	西灣河文娛中心劇院	社區文娛統籌辦事處
1999	Art	望框框的男人	Reza, Yasmina		France	司徒偉堅/譯	張可堅	1999.8.26-29	香港大會堂劇院	劇場空間
1999		莎士比亞全集（濃縮版）	Shakespeare, William		UK		Saunders, John	1999.10.5-10	香港演藝學院戲劇院	國際管理集團主辦
1999	The Skin of our Teeth	玩盡牙煙新世紀	Wilder, Thornton	曹爾頓·懷爾德	USA		陳敢權	1999.11.3-6	香港演藝學院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
1999	A Midsummer Night's Dream	仲夏夜之夢	Shakespeare, William		UK			1999.11.8-10	藝術中心壽臣劇院	青年藝術節
1999	The Game	兩條老柴玩遊戲	Ionesco, Eugene		France	詹瑞文、甄詠蓓/改編	詹瑞文、甄詠蓓	1999.11.25-28	香港文化中心劇場	劇場組合
1999	Father's Day	負親節	Hailey, Oliver	奧利華·希利	USA	黃美姿/譯	譚文甫	1999.12.13-18	香港演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

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1999	A Doll's House	娜拉之夜	Ibsen, Henrik		Norway			1999.12.15-18	藝穗會LaCremeria 劇院	灣仔劇團
1999-2000	Butterflies Are Free	蝴蝶春情	Gershe, Leonard		USA	陳敢權/改編	李銘森	1999.12.17-2000.1.16	香港演藝學院戲劇院	春天舞台
2000	A Hatful of Rain	浪子回頭	Gazzo, Michael V.		USA		傅月美	2000.1.7-8	演藝歌劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2000	No Exit	留戀無門房間	Sartre, Jean-Paul	尚保·沙特	France	李丹拿/譯	李丹拿	2000.1.17-22	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2000	Hamlet	哈姆雷特/哈姆雷特	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	熊源偉/改編	熊源偉	2000.1.21-24	香港文化中心劇場	致群劇社、沙田話劇團、第四線劇社
2000	Fool's Marriage	羅泥賤	Molière		France	李嘉汶、馮兆章/譯及改編	馮兆章	2000.1.28-29	沙田大會堂文娛廳	業娛劇社
2000	Twelfth Night	元宵	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤/譯及改編	古天農	2000.2.19-20 2000.2.25-27 2000.3.3-5	屯門大會堂文娛廳 沙田大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳	中英劇團
2000	All God's Chillun Got Wings	折翼之戀	O'Neill, Eugene	尤金·奧尼爾	USA	黃英傑/譯	王敏豪	2000.2.28-3.4	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2000	Oedipus the King	伊狄帕斯王	Sophocles	索福克里斯	Greece	黎翠珍/譯	何偉龍	2000.3.10-25	上環文娛中心 香港話劇團排練場	香港話劇團
2000	King Lear	李爾王—實驗莎士比亞	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	榮念曾、楊德昌、孟京輝、賴聲川/改編	榮念曾、楊德昌、孟京輝、賴聲川	2000.3.16-19	葵青劇院演奏廳	進念・二十面體
2000	The Metamorphosis	蛻變(蛻變版)	Kafka, Franz		Czech Republic	陳麗珠、紀文舜/改編	陳麗珠	2000.3.18-19 2000.3.24-26 2000.4.1-2	荃灣大會堂文娛廳 沙田大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	進劇場
2000	Animal Farm	動物農莊攪攪陣 Manimal Farm	Orwell, George		UK	梁嘉傑/改編	詹瑞文、甄詠蓓	2000.3.24-26	葵青劇院演奏廳	劇場組合
2000		異人三足：開放雙人床	Simon, Neil		USA	潘詩韻/改編	胡明偉	2000.4.15-16	西灣河文娛中心劇院	湛青劇社
2000	The Maids	侍婢	Genet, Jean	尚·紀涅	France		林立三	2000.4.27-28	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2000	Medea	美狄亞	Euripides		Greece	海滴/改編	麥秋	2000.4.27-28 2000.5.6-7 2000.5.13	葵青劇院演奏廳 沙田大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	麥秋製作
2000	Blood Wedding	血婚	Lorca, Federico Garcia	法特烈哥·加西亞·羅卡	Spain	周偉強、胡海輝/譯	毛俊輝	2000.5.17-20	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

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2000	And Then There Were None	童謠謀殺案	Christie, Agatha	阿嘉花·姬絲蒂	UK	黃美姿/譯	麥正麟	2000.5.22-27	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2000	Noises Off	蝦碌戲班	Frayn, Michael		UK	鍾景輝/譯	鍾景輝	2000.5.31-7.2	演藝學院歌劇院	春天舞台製作
2000	The Hour We Knew Nothing of Each Other	我們互不相識的一小時	Handke, Peter		Austria	羅貴祥/譯	鄧樹榮	2000.6.16-17	葵青劇院演奏廳	無人地帶
2000	A Midsummer Night's Dream	仲夏夜之夢	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	2000.7.1-8	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
2000	A Midsummer Night's Dream	仲夏夜之夢	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	楊世彭/譯	楊世彭	2000.7.28-29	台北國家劇院戲劇廳	香港話劇團
2000	Sylvia	點解手牽狗	Gurney, A. R.		USA	李中全/譯及改編	李鎮洲	2000.8.18-27	香港文化中心劇場	中英劇團
2000	Steaming	正宗浴室	Dunn, Nell		UK	凌紹安/譯	余振球	2000.8.25-27 2000.9.2-3	沙田大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	劇場空間
2000	The Merchant of Venice	威尼斯商人	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	舒志義/譯	岑偉宗	2000.9.6-9	香港文化中心劇場	丁劇坊
2000	In the Burning Darkness	黑暗燃燒	Vallejo, Antonio Buero		Spain	胡海輝/譯	胡海輝	2000.9.6-9	藝穗會Star Alliance劇場	一條褲製作
2000	The School for Wives	妻子學堂	Molière		France	胡海輝/譯	李均豪、李凱茵、鍾蕙萍	2000.9.23-24	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	紅磚族
2000	Making Boobs	製造乳房	Dellow, Sally		HK		Sally Dellow、胡海輝	2000.10.18-27	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	香港癌症基金會
2000	A Midsummer Night's Dream	仲夏夜之夢	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	古天農	2000.10.20-22	香港文化中心大劇院	中英劇團、香港小交響樂團
2000	An Absolute Turkey	一拍兩散偷錯情	Feydeau, Georges	喬治·費杜	France		鍾景輝	2000.11.11-20	葵青劇院演藝廳	香港話劇團
2000	Flowers for Algernon	天才耗夢	Rogers, David	大衛·羅渣士	USA	陳敢權/譯	傅月美	2000.11.15-18	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2000	West Side Story	夢斷維港	Laurents, Arthur		USA	張可堅/譯	余振球	2000.11.24-30	香港文化中心廣場	劇場空間
2000		消遙法外	Sondheim, Stephen and George Furth			張敏儀/譯	喬寶忠		香港大會堂劇院	彩虹劇社
2000	Bent	屈獄情	Sherman, Martin	馬田·西敏	USA	陳敢權/譯	鄧安力	2000.12.4-9	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2001		小女孩・大世界	Hall, Lee		UK	一休/譯及改編	一休	2001.1.16-18	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	7A班戲劇組
2001		撒尿的代價	別役實		Japan	山崎理惠子/譯 何應豐/改編	何應豐	2001.2.1-5	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	瘋祭舞台
2001		無事生非之姊姊妹妹莎起來	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	山崎理惠子/譯	盧偉力	2001.2.8-15	香港大會堂劇院	香港影視劇團
2001	A Doll's House	玩偶之家	Ibsen, Henrik	亨利·易卜生	Norway	鍾靜思/譯	葉正行	2001.2.19-24	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2001	A Few Good Men	義海雄風	Sorkin, Aaron		USA	莫漢英、馬寶明、張可堅/譯	張可堅	2001.3.22-25	香港文化中心劇場	劇場空間

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2001	The Real Inspector Hound	非常偵探	Stoppard, Tom		UK	鄧偉傑/譯	鄧偉傑	2001.3.24-25 2001.3.30-4.1	屯門大會堂文娛廳 沙田大會堂文娛廳	中英劇團
2001	And Baby Makes Seven	二不休系列之將D細路趕盡殺絕	Vogel, Paula		USA	胡海輝/譯	胡海輝	2001.3.30-4.1	香港文化中心劇場	一條褲製作
2001	The Game	兩條老柴玩遊戲	Ionesco, Eugene		France	詹瑞文、甄詠蓓/改編	詹瑞文、甄詠蓓	2001.4.12-15	香港文化中心劇場	劇場組合
2001	The Crucible	靈欲劫	Miller, Arthur	阿瑟·米勒	USA	廖梅姬/譯	何偉龍	2001.5.5-20	香港大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
2001	Sylvia	點解手牽狗	Gurney, A. R.		USA	李中全/譯	李鎮洲	2001.5.10-19	香港大會堂劇院	中英劇團
2001	The Rivals	情敵	Sheridan, Richard	李察·舒烈頓	UK	周偉強、胡海輝/譯	莊培德(Peter Jordan)	2001.5.16-19	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2001	All in the Timing	及時行樂	Ives, David	大衛·艾思	USA	陳敢權/譯及改編	Dobbin, Michael	2001.5.28-6.2	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2001	The Woman in Black	靈在你左右	Hill, Susan		UK	史提夫・馬勒泰/改編 古永聰/譯	吳家禧	2001.6.1-3	香港文化中心劇場	赫墾坊劇團
2001	Six Characters in Search of an Author	六個尋找作者的角色	Pirandello, Luigi		Italy	舒志義/譯	麥秋	2001.6.22-23	上環文娛中心劇院	明愛專業及成人教育中心
2001		狂人日記	Gogol, Nikolai		Russia	白只・莊培德/改編	莊培德	2001.7.5-7	藝穗會星空聯盟劇院	自作業
2001	The Lesson	反轉課堂	Ionesco, Eugene		France		尊尼・盧	2001.7.21-22	香港文化中心劇場	業娛劇社
2001	The Great Builder	大建築師	Ibsen, Henrik		Norway	張可堅/譯	麥秋	2001.9.13-16	香港大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協會
2001	Luv	飛越愛河橋	Schisgal, Murray		USA	彭鎮南/譯	彭鎮南	2001.10.12-14 2001.10.19-20 2001.10.27-28	沙田大會堂文娛廳/ 大會堂演奏廳/ 荃灣大會堂文娛廳/北區	演戲家族
2001	Widows	寡婦村	Dorfman, Ariel	多夫曼	Chile	莊梅岩、陸昕/譯	鄧安力	2001.11.7-10	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2001	The Secret Garden	秘密花園	Burnett, Frances Hodgson		UK		麥蓮西	2001.11.7-10	香港藝術中心壽臣劇院	香港青年藝術節
2001	The Blue Bird	墮落鳥	Maeterlinck, Maurice		Belgium		甄詠蓓	2001.11.9-11	葵青劇院演藝廳	劇場組合
2001	Uncle Vanya	凡尼亞舅舅	Chekhov, Anton	契訶夫	Russia	毛俊輝、胡海輝/譯	Shilovsky, Vsevolod	2001.11.24-12.10	香港大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
2001	Macbeth	馬克白	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳敢權/譯	Pinner, David	2001.12.10-15	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2001	Alchemist, The	煉金術士	Coelho, Paul		Brazil	龍文康/改編	鄧樹榮	2001.12.21-30	香港文化中心劇場	中英劇團
2002	The Glass Menagerie	玻璃動物園	Williams, Tennessee		USA	簡婉明/譯	麥秋	2002.1.18-20	沙田大會堂文娛廳	麥秋製作

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2002	Luv	飛越愛河橋	Schisgal, Murray		USA	彭鎮南/譯	彭鎮南	2002.1.24-31	香港藝術中心壽臣劇院	演戲家族
2002	Charlie and the Chocolate Factory	神奇無敵朱古力	Dahl, Roald	華夫·達爾	UK	Richard George/改編 王家烈/譯	王家烈	2002.2.4-9	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2002	La Casa de… (*The House of Bernarda Alba*)	他和她和他……的屋	Lorca, Federico Garcia		Spain	陳麗珠、紀文舜/改編	陳麗珠	2002.3.8-10	香港藝術中心壽臣劇院	進劇場
2002	The Lesson	瘋狂教室	Ionesco, Eugene	尤金·尤涅斯科	France	葉遜謙/譯	葉遜謙	2002.3.18-23	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2002	Peer Gynt	培爾·金特	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	陳鈞潤/譯	胡海輝	2002.3.28-29	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2002	Little Shops of Horrors	花樣撩牙	Ashman, Howard		USA	陳鈞潤/譯及改編	李鎮洲	2002.3.29-4.1	葵青劇院演藝廳	中英劇團
2002	A Streetcar Named Desire	慾望號街車	Williams, Tennessee		USA	廖梅姬/譯	林立三	2002.4.22-27	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2002	They're Playing our Song	戀上你的歌	Simon, Neil		USA	司徒偉健/譯	張可堅	2002.5.3-5	香港大會堂劇院	劇場空間
2002	The Caucasian Chalk Circle	高加索灰蘭記	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	梁鎰康、胡海輝/譯	Edmund, Chris	2002.5.8-11	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2002	Therese Raquin	弒夫情案	Zola, Emile	埃米爾·左拉	France	胡海輝/譯	傅月美	2002.5.20-25	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2002	Deathwatch	死亡實驗室	Genet, Jean		France	方梓勳、莫自定/譯	鄧樹榮、李國威	2002.5.31-6.2	香港文化中心劇場	無人地帶
2002	Waiting for Godot	等待果陀	Beckett, Samuel		UK	方梓勳/譯	蔡錫昌	2002.7.19-21	香港大會堂劇院	眾劇團
2002	Hobson's Choice	女大不中留	Brighouse, Harold		UK	陳鈞潤/譯及改編	李鎮洲	2002.8.23-9.1	香港文化中心劇場	中英劇團
2002	On Golden Road	金池塘	Thompson, Ernest		USA	余振球/譯	馮祿德	2002.9.18-23	香港文化中心劇場	香港戲劇協會
2002	Marriage is Murder	攞命夫妻全攻略	Hall, Nick		USA	林小寶/譯	鄧偉傑	2002.10.11-13 2002.10.19-20	沙田大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	劇場工作室
2002	Molly Sweeney	看不到的故事	Friel, Brian		UK	舒志義/譯	余振球	2002.10.5-11.27	香港大會堂高座八樓演奏廳	劇場空間
2002	Mouth to Mouth	嘴對嘴	Elyot, Kevin	凱文·艾樂	UK	陳敢權/譯	鄧安力(Alex Taylor)	2002.12.9-14	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2003	On Golden Road	金池塘	Thompson, Ernest		USA	余振球/譯	馮祿德	2003.1-4.8	演藝學院戲劇院	香港戲劇協會
2003	Dinner with Friends	「界」食男女	Margulies, Donald		USA	周偉強/譯	余振球	2003.1.10-12 2003.1.18-19 2003.1.24-25	沙田大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳	劇場空間
2003	Medea	美狄亞	Euripides	尤里庇德斯	Greece	海滴/譯	林立三	2003.1.20-25	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

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2003	Miss Margarida's Way	代理阿媽教	Athayde, Roberto		Brazil	鄧樹榮/譯	鄧樹榮	2003.1.21-29	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	無人地帶
2003	The Eccentricities of a Nightingale	請你愛我一小時	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA	張可堅/譯	Kaplan, David	2003.5.17-6.1	香港藝術中心壽臣劇院	香港話劇團
2003	God's Favorite	我老豆係黨「灰」	Simon, Neil		USA	司徒偉健/譯	冼振東	2003.2.21-23	沙田大會堂文娛廳	捌秋一
2003	The Happy Prince	快樂王子	Wilde, Oscar		UK	胡恩威、陶傑/改編	林奕華	2003.2.21-24 2003.2.26-3.1	香港文化中心劇場	非常林奕華
2003	The Slaughter	屠殺者	Muller, Heiner	海諾·穆勒	Germany	朝紅/譯	陳正君	2003.2.24-3.1	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2003		十一隻貓	井上廈		Japan	一條小百合/譯及改編	鵜山仁	2003.3.21-23 2003.3.29-30	沙田大會堂文娛廳 元朗劇院演藝廳	中英劇團
2003	The Glory of Living	活著光榮	Gilman, Rebecca		USA	胡海輝/譯	胡海輝	2003.5.9-10	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2003	Oleanna	奧利安娜的迷惑	Mamet, David		USA	張薇/譯	陳炳釗、羅靜雯	2003.5.23-25	西灣河文娛中心劇場	前進進戲劇工作坊
2003	Summer and Smoke	夏日煙雲	Williams, Tennessee	田納西·威廉斯	USA	黃曉初/譯	黃曉初	2003.5.26-31	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2003	Fiddler on the Roof	錦繡良緣	Stein, Joseph		USA	陳敢權/譯及改編	陳敢權、傅月美	2003.5.27-6.1	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2003	Les Belles-soeurs	姨媽姑姐執到寶	Tremblay, Michel		Canada	張敏儀/改編	張敏儀	2003.6.12-15	香港文化中心劇場	香港影視劇團
2003	Twelve Angry Men	十二怒漢	Rose, Reginald		USA	張可堅/譯	張可堅	2003.6.20-22	香港文化中心劇場	劇場空間
2003	On Golden Road	金池塘	Thompson, Ernest		USA	余振球/譯	馮祿德	2003.7.24-27	香港大會堂劇院	香港戲劇協會
2003	Twelve Angry Men	十二怒漢	Rose, Reginald		USA	張可堅/譯	張可堅	2003.8.14-17	香港文化中心劇場	劇場空間
2003	The Good Person of Szechwan	四川好人	Brecht, Bertolt		Germany	高世章、岑偉宗、彭鎮南/改編	彭鎮南	2003.8.15-17	葵青劇場演藝廳	演戲家族
2003	And Then There Were None	十個該死的少年	Christie, Agatha		UK	一休/改編	一休	2003.9.26-28 2003.10.4-5	沙田大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	7A班戲劇組
2003	A Woman Alone	女人四十困在家	Fo, Dario		Italy	汪卿孫/譯及改編	余振球	2003.10.10 2003.11.2 2003.11.20	沙田大會堂文娛廳 北區大會堂演奏廳 牛池灣文娛中心劇院	劇場空間
2003	Oleanna	奧利安娜的迷惑	Mamet, David		USA	張薇/譯	羅靜雯、陳炳釗	2003.10.23-25 2003.11.4	藝穗會小劇場 中文大學邵逸夫堂	前進進戲劇工作坊
2003	Look Look	睇住!	Frayn, Michael	米高·弗雷恩	UK	胡海輝/譯	伍潔茵	2003.12.1-6	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

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2003	The Happy Prince	快樂王子	Wilde, Oscar		UK	胡恩威、陶傑/改編	林奕華	2003.12.12-15	葵青劇場演藝廳	非常林奕華
2003	The Game	兩條老柴玩遊戲	Ionesco, Eugene		France	詹瑞文、甄詠蓓/改編	詹瑞文、甄詠蓓	2004.1.16-19	香港文化中心劇場	劇場組合
2004	The Good Person of Szechwan	四川好人	Brecht, Bertolt		Germany	高世章、岑偉宗、彭鎮南/改編	彭鎮南	2004.2.13-15	荃灣大會堂演奏廳	演戲家族
2004	The Glass Mountain	玻璃山	Bringsvaerd, Tor Age	托爾·奧厄	Norway	胡海輝/譯	胡海輝	2004.2.23-28	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2004	A Small Family Business	家庭作孽	Ayckbourn, Alan		UK	陳鈞潤/譯及改編	毛俊輝、司徒慧焯	2004.3.24-4.4	香港文化中心劇場	香港話劇團
2004	Romeo and Juliet	羅密歐與茱麗葉	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	廖梅姬/譯	蔣維國、林立三	2004.4.12-13	演藝學院歌劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2004	The Miser	孤寒鬼	Molière	莫里哀	France	胡美寶/譯	莊培德	2004.4.19-24	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2004	Pygmalion	賣花女	Shaw, George Bernard	喬治·蕭伯納	UK	楊兆和、馮澤恩、賴建發/譯	鄧安力	2004.5.17-22	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2004	Pippin	音樂劇 — 邊邊正傳	Schwartz, Stephen		USA	周偉強/譯	周偉強	2004.6.11-13	香港文化中心劇場	香港音樂劇協會
2004	Inherit the Wind	承受清風	Lawrence, Jerome and Robert E. Lee		USA	張可堅/譯	傅月美、古天農	2004.6.18-20	葵青劇院演藝廳	香港戲劇協會
2004	The Glass Menagerie	玻璃動物園	Williams, Tennessee		USA	梁祖堯/譯	鄭傳軍	2004.6.24-27	香港文化中心劇場	姊宮樂園
2004	The Seven Deadly Kisses	七個好年	Brecht, Bertolt	布萊希特	Germany	馮程程/改編	馮程程	2004.7.9-11	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	前進進戲劇工作坊
2004	The Importance of Being Earnest	不可兒戲	Wilde, Oscar	王爾德	UK	余光中/譯	楊世彭	2004.7.16-8.1	演藝學院戲劇院	香港話劇團
2004	The Gin Game	一缺一	Coburn, D. L.	柯培恩	USA	李國威/譯	李國威	2004.7.20-31 2004.12.15-16	葵青劇場展覽廳 上環文娛中心劇院	香港話劇團
2004	Antigone	禁葬令	Anouilh, Jean		France		黃曉初	2004.7.21-25	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	紅
2004	Da	老竇	Leonard, Hugh		UK	鮑漢琳/譯	張可堅	2004.7.23-25 2004.7.31-8.1	沙田大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	劇場空間
2004	Seven Flies	七飛	Ives, David		USA	魏綺珊、柏拉文/譯	葉遜謙、王子	2004.7.23-25	香港文化中心劇場	糊塗戲班
2004	The Betrayal	叛	Pinter, Harold		UK	Lucretia/譯	黃曉初	2004.9.10-12	西灣河文娛中心劇院	Theatre De R & D
2004	Da	老竇	Leonard, Hugh		UK	鮑漢琳/譯	張可堅	2004.10.7-10	香港大會堂劇院	劇場空間
2004	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton		USA	李戈/譯	葉遜謙	2004.10.15-17	香港文化中心劇場	範圍
2004	Man of La Mancha	拉硬柴之夢遊騎士	Wasserman, Dale		USA	方梓勳、陳嘉恩/譯	蔡錫昌	2004.12.3-5	香港大會堂劇院	眾劇團
2004	Night of the Soul	靈夜	Farr, David	大衛·法爾	UK	胡海輝/譯	胡海輝	2004.12.6-11	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院

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2004	The Odd Couple (Female Version)	愛家婆娘	Simon, Neil		USA		周偉強	2004.12.15-17	沙田大會堂文娛廳	湛青劇社
2005	Whose Life is it Anyway?	生殺之權(戲寶重溫)	Clark, Brian	白賴恩·奇勒	UK	黎翠珍/譯	何偉龍	2005.1.2-16	香港大會堂劇院	香港話劇團
2005	Picasso at the Lapin Agile	畢加索遇上愛因斯坦	Martin, Steve		USA	司徒偉健、汪卿孫/譯	余振球	2005.1.7-9	西灣河文娛中心劇院	劇場空間
2005	Life and Death of Almost Everybody, The	ASM造世界	Campton, David	大衛·金特頓	UK	陳敢權/譯	陳敢權	2005.1.31-2.5	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2005	Hedda Gabler	海達 • 嘉柏娜	Ibsen, Henrik		Norway	梁永能/譯	梁永能	2005.2.27-3.3	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2005	Vassa Zheleznova	鐵娘子	Gorky, Maxim	高爾基	Russia	廖梅姬/譯	Burdonskij, Alexander	2005.3.12-20	葵青劇院演藝廳	香港話劇團
2005	Spool! (Krapp's Last Tape, Come and Go, Quad)	第三盒 • 卷五 (克雷布最後錄音帶、來來去去、遊走四方形)	Beckett, Samuel		UK		陳麗珠	2005.4.8-10	香港文化中心劇場	進劇場
2005	The Fantasticks	夢幻愛程	Jones, Tom	湯姆·鍾士	USA	張志傑/改編	張志傑	2005.4.18-23	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2005	Make Like a Dog	做好狗狗	Kass, Jerome		USA	譚美瓊/譯	譚美瓊	2005.5.5-7	上環文娛中心演講廳	優樂場
2005	The Frog Prince	青蛙王子	Mamet, David		USA	蔡定祥/譯	蔡定祥	2005.5.5-7	上環文娛中心演講廳	105劇團
2005	The Children's Hour	童謠無忌	Hellman, Lillian	蓮麗·海爾門	USA	鍾燕詩/譯	莊培德	2005.5.11-14	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2005	The Art of Self-defense	女子符碌太極坊	Johnson, Trish		USA	鄧鳳明/譯	鄧鳳明	2005.5.12-14	上環文娛中心演講廳	湛青劇社
2005	The Room	房間	Pinter, Harold		UK	梁美珊/譯	徐偉倫	2005.5.12-14	上環文娛中心演講廳	戲隨意集
2005	Phaedra	菲爾德	Racine, Jean	尚·哈辛	France	鄧樹榮/譯	鄧樹榮	2005.5.16-21	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2005	Dossier: Ronald Akkerman	愛…知	Lohuizen, Suzanne van		Netherlands, The	黃翠儀/譯	黃翠儀	2005.5.19-21	上環文娛中心演講廳	捌秋壹
2005	The Actor's Nightmare	玩轉舞台瘋狂夜	Durang, Christopher		USA	梁永能/譯	梁永能	2005.5.19-21	上環文娛中心演講廳	LB Theatre
2005	Dear Diary	不速之客	McManus, Kay		UK	王羨彤/譯	尹偉程	2005.5.26-28	上環文娛中心演講廳	巧克力劇場
2005	Two	雙	Cartwright, Jim		UK	周昭倫/譯	周昭倫	2005.5.26-28	上環文娛中心演講廳	劇場休憩間
2005	Proof	求証	Auburn, David	戴維·奧本	USA	胡海輝/譯(粵語版) 胡開奇/譯(國語版)	毛俊輝	2005.7.1-13 2005.7.15.17	香港藝術中心壽臣劇院	香港話劇團
2005	Painting Churches	畫布上的爸爸媽媽	Howe, Tina		USA	張可堅/譯	張可堅	2005.7.15-17	香港文化中心劇場	劇場空間
2005	Les Misérables	孤星淚	Hugo, Victor		France	Jonathan Holloway/改編 鍾燕詩/譯	莊培德	2005.8.26-9.4	香港文化中心劇場	中英劇團

年份	原本劇名	翻譯劇名	劇作家原名	劇作家譯名	劇作家國籍	改編/翻譯	導演	演出日期	演出場地	演出團體
2005	Kiss of the Spider Woman	蜘蛛女之吻	Puig, Manuel	馬努葉·普易	Argentina	陳敢權/改編	鄧樹榮	2005.11.18-20	香港大會堂劇院	焦媛實驗劇團
2005	Da	老竇	Leonard, Hugh		UK	鮑漢琳/譯	張可堅	2005.11.26-27	澳門文化中心小劇場	劇場空間
2005	The New Apartment	新宅風雲	Goldoni, Carlo	哥爾多尼	Italy	鍾燕詩/譯	莊培德	2005.12.5-10	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2005	Trojan Women	木馬屠城後傳	Euripides	歐里庇特斯	Greece	廖梅姬/譯	林立三	2005.12.14-18	演藝港灣劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2006		錦獸豪庭	Mamet, David		USA	冼振東、司徒偉健/譯及改編	冼振東	2006.1.4-8	香港大會堂劇院	奔騰製作
2006	Moose Mating	凹凸男女	Grae, David		USA	張可堅/譯	張可堅	2006.1.6-8 2006.1.14-15 2006.1.20-21	沙田大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳	劇場空間
2006		沙律殺人事件	別役實		Japan	山崎理惠子、馮程程/譯	E-RUN	2006.1.12-15	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	E-RUN/主辦
2006		小飛俠之幻影迷綜	Barrie, James M.	占士·巴利	UK	Leon Rubin/改編 司徒偉健/譯	Rubin, Leon	2006.1.14-23	香港文化中心大劇院	香港話劇團
2006	Hamlet	哈姆雷特	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	鄧樹榮	2006.1.16-21	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2006	Closer	誘心人	Marber, Patrick		UK		蔣維國	2006.1.20-27 2006.6.21-25	香港大會堂劇院 香港戲劇學院歌劇院	焦媛實驗劇團
2006	Hedda Gabler	海達．嘉柏拿	Ibsen, Henrik	易卜生	Norway	梁永能/譯	梁永能	2006.2.27-3.3	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2006		博士熱愛的算式	小川洋子		Japan	一休/改編 (根據王蘊潔之中文譯本改編)	陳正君	2006.3.3-5, 8-12	牛池灣文娛中心文娛廳	7A班戲劇組
2006	Da	老竇	Leonard, Hugh		UK	鮑漢琳/譯	張可堅	2006.3.9-12	葵青劇院演藝廳	劇場空間
2006	Mission Invisible	不如偷人	Fo, Dario		Italy	王羨彤/譯	蕭新泉	2006.3.16-18	藝穗會劇院	巧克力劇場
2006	Art	藝術	Reza, Yasmina	雅絲曼娜·雷莎	France	金志平/譯	李國威	2006.3.23-4.8	香港藝術中心壽臣劇院	香港話劇團
2006		靚太作死	Fo, Dario and Franca Rame		Italy	魏綺珊、伍嘉琦/譯	歐思朗、王子	2006.4.7-16	香港文化中心劇場	糊塗戲班
2006	Beckett Shorts: Rockaby Footfalls Ohio Impromptu		Beckett, Samuel		UK	黎翠珍/譯 Lie Jianxi and Eliza Lau/譯 楊慧儀/譯	Mike	2006.4.8	藝穗會小劇場	Theatre Action
2006	I Love You, You Are Perfect, Now Change	你咪理，我愛你，死未！	DiPietro, Joe		USA	梁祖堯/譯	陳曙曦	2006.4.21-28	香港文化中心劇場	風車草劇團

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								2006.5.11-14 2006.11.2-12	香港藝術中心壽臣劇院 香港藝術中心壽臣劇院	
2006	My Father's Sword	瘋狂小鎮	Vitrac, Roger	韋德奇	France	李理/譯	Jean-Christian	2006.5.10-13	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2006	Arcadia	故園幽夢	Stoppard, Tom	湯姆·史托柏	UK	周偉強/譯	胡海輝	2006.5.15-20	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2006	The Wild Duck	野鴨	Ibsen, Henrik		Norway	張可堅/譯	麥秋	2006.5.18-21	香港文化中心劇場	香港戲劇協會
2006	Ghosts	郡鬼之家	Ibsen, Henrik		Norway	李戈/改編	李戈、王文俊	2006.5.25-26	牛池灣文娛中心文娛廳	春草劇坊
		愛的戲劇(變奏版)	Ibsen, Henrik		Norway	鄧鳳明/譯及改編	鄧鳳明	2006.5.27-28	牛池灣文娛中心文娛廳	湛青劇社
		女流	Ibsen, Henrik		Norway	陳志雄/譯及改編	冼振東	2006.6.1-2	牛池灣文娛中心文娛廳	捌秋壹
	A Doll's House	玩偶之家	Ibsen, Henrik		Norway	馮家良/改編	馮家良	2006.6.3-4	牛池灣文娛中心文娛廳	亂描舍
		尖塔上的易卜人生	Ibsen, Henrik		Norway	周昭倫/改編	周昭倫	2006.6.8-9	牛池灣文娛中心文娛廳	劇場休憩間
		船桅上的白蟻	Ibsen, Henrik		Norway	羅金翡/改編	譚劍偉、梁偉然	2006.6.10-11	牛池灣文娛中心文娛廳	禾地山
2006	Hamlet	哈姆雷特	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	陳鈞潤/譯	鄧樹榮	2006.7.21-23	?	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2006	阿律和她的兒女們	母親死前的四十小時	茶川龍之介		Japan	陳鈞至/改編	王明智、林斯欣	2006.7.28	大埔文娛中心演奏廳	香港大學學生會戲劇社
2006	The Jeweller's Shop	珠寶店－教宗若望保祿二世劇作	教宗若望保祿二世		Poland	張可堅/譯	張可堅	2006.7.27-30	香港文化中心劇場	思定劇社
2006	Girl, Interrupted	瘋笑黽	Kaysen, Susanna		USA	鍾蕙萍/改編	李均豪	2006.7.28-29	上環文娛中心劇院	紅磚族
2006		那一年，我的家……	Simon, Neil		USA		蘇銳洪	2006.8.18-19	藝穗會小劇場	香港大學專業進修學院（學生會）戲劇學會
2006	Disney's Aladdin Jr	《阿拉丁》兒童劇場版	Disney		USA	陳鈞潤/譯	胡寶秀	2006.8.19-20	香港理工大學賽馬會綜藝館	香港兒童音樂劇團
2006	Blindness	盲流感	Saramago, José	薩拉馬戈	Portugal	馮大慶/改編 范維信/譯	王曉鷹	2006.8.26-9.3	葵青劇院演藝廳	香港話劇團
2006	Madame Bovary	包法利夫人們－名媛的美麗與哀愁	Flaubert, Gustave		France	王紀堯 et al./改編	林奕華	2006.9.1-10	香港文化中心劇場	非常林奕華
2006	Nickel And Dimed	仙都唔仙	Holden, Joan		USA	李雅瑜/譯及改編	Chumley, Dan	2006.9.14-17	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	好戲量
2006		七式菜單	Ives, David		USA	陳敢權/譯	余健生	2006.9.22-24	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	彩虹業餘劇藝社
2006	Death of a Salesman	推銷員之死	Miller, Arthur		USA	方梓勳、陳嘉恩、蔡錫昌/譯	蔡錫昌	2006.9.22-24	香港大會堂劇院	眾劇團

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2006	Twelve Angry Men	十二怒漢 (重演)	Rose, Reginald		USA	張可堅/譯	張可堅	2006.9.28-10.1 2006.10.27-29	上環文娛中心劇院 澳門文化中心小劇場	劇場空間
2006		「陪你玩到死為止」－《玻璃攪攪棍》、《一個演員的惡夢》	Durang, Christopher		USA	梁永能/譯	梁永能	2006.10.10-14	藝穗會小劇場	拉闊劇團
2006	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton	曹爾頓·懷爾德	USA		陳曙曦	2006.10.11-13	上環文娛中心劇院	天邊外劇場
2006		夜行動物	小松山洋一		Japan	山崎理惠子/譯	E-RUN	2006.11.2-5	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	office 30/主辦
2006	The Jungle Book Kids	《小泰山》音樂劇	Disney		USA	葉羨詩/譯	李趣慧	2006.11.3-5	西灣河文娛中心劇院	葉氏兒童音樂劇團
2006		怪誕妻夫	Simon, Neil		USA	李戈/譯	李戈、張樂勤	2006.11.3-5	上環文娛中心演講廳	範圍
2006	How I Learned to Drive	未成年少女的駕駛課程	Vogel, Paula		USA	李慧心/譯	李慧心	2006.11.27-12.2	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2006		跳舞．鯊	Nigro, Don		USA	黃雪文、梁祖堯/譯	何俊傑	2006.11.22-26	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	姊宮樂園
2006	4.48 Psychosis	4.48 精神異常	Kane, Sarah		UK		張藝生	2006.12.15-18	前進進牛棚劇場	前進進戲劇工作坊
2006	Crave	渴求	Kane, Sarah		UK	馮程程、鄭煥美、梁曉瑞、潘詩韻/譯		2006.12.15-18	前進進牛棚劇場	前進進戲劇工作坊
2006	Talley's Folly	戀戀心湖	Wilson, Lanford		USA	余振球、Cat/譯	溫迪倫	2006.12.23-30	上環文娛中心展覽廳	劇場空間
2006	Three Sisters	姊妹仨	Chekhov, Anton		Russia	黎翠珍/譯	黃清霞	2006.12.30-31	香港大會堂劇院	海豹劇團
2006-2007	Les Misérables	孤星淚	Hugo, Victor		France	Jonathan Holloway/改編 鍾燕詩/譯	莊培德	2006.12.22-2007.1.1	香港文化中心劇場	中英劇團
2007	Da	老竇	Leonard, Hugh		UK	鮑漢琳/譯	張可堅	2007.1.11-14	上環文娛中心劇院	劇場空間
2007		月事嚟樂園	Pospisil, Craig		USA	方浩賢、廖榮詩、胡美寶/譯	黎軒宇、黃曉初	2007.1.19-21	沙田大會堂文娛廳	無戲製作
2007	The Vagina Monologues	陰道獨白	Ensler, Eve		USA	雷欣然/譯	鄧偉傑	2007.1.31-2.4 2007.7.4-11 2007.12.20-26	香港大會堂音樂廳 香港大會堂音樂廳 沙田大會堂演奏廳	焦媛實驗劇團
2007	Three Postcards	三個女人唱出一個噓	Lucas, Craig		USA	張可堅/譯	張可堅	2007.2.2-16	上環文娛中心展覽廳	劇場空間
2007	Chasing the Dragon	追龍	Pullinger, Jackie and Andrew Quicke		UK	十仔/改編	十仔	2007.2.24-25	高山劇場	聖士提反會/主辦
2007		糖果屋	Grimm brothers	格林兄弟	Germany	王添強/改編	王添強	2007.3.2-4 2007.3.9-10	沙田大會堂文娛廳 荃灣大會堂文娛廳	明日藝術教育機構

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								2007.3.16-17 2007.3.30-31	北區大會堂文娛廳 屯門大會堂文娛廳	
2007		同窗勿友	Maxwell, Douglas		UK	鄧偉傑/譯	鄧偉傑	2007.3.9-16	西灣河文娛中心劇院	中英劇團
2007	My Mother Said I Never Should	阿媽話…	Keatley, Charlotte		UK	鮑漢琳/譯	溫迪倫	2007.3.16-18	沙田大會堂文娛廳	劇場空間
								2007.3.24-25	屯門大會堂文娛廳	
2007	Can't Pay! Won't Pay!	畀唔起? 咪鬼畀!	Fo, Dario	戴里奧·福	Italy	張樂勤/譯及改編	葉萬莊	2007.3.19-24	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2007	Art	藝術	Reza, Yasmina	雅絲曼娜·雷莎	France	金志平/譯	李國威	2007.3.23-4.8	香港藝術中心壽臣劇院	香港話劇團
2007	Oscar et la dame Rose	粉紅天使	Emmanuel		France	鄧樹榮/譯	余振球	2007.4.19-21	上環文娛中心劇院	劇場空間
2007	Phaedra	菲爾德	Racine, Jean		France	鄧樹榮/譯	鄧樹榮	2007.4.20-22	香港文化中心劇場	香港演藝學院
2007		杏仁豆腐的箴言	鄭義信		Japan	山崎理惠子/譯	陳銘鋒	2007.5.3	上環文娛中心演講廳	劇場空間
2007		奪面雙蠱	Fo, Dario		Italy	李國威/改編	李國威	2007.5.4-6	香港文化中心劇場	影話戲
2007	Enchanted April	靚太旅行團	Arnim, Elizabeth von		UK	鄧鳳明/譯	鄭國偉	2007.5.11-13	沙田大會堂文娛廳	湛青劇社
2007	Divine Comedy	地獄行	Alighieri, Dante	但丁	Italy	黃國鉅/改編	陳曙曦	2007.5.11-13	牛池灣文娛中心劇院	天邊外劇場
2007		跳舞・鯊	Nigro, Don		USA	黃雪文、梁祖堯/譯	何俊傑	2007.5.14-20	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	姊宮樂園
2007	The Cherry Orchard	櫻桃園	Chekhov, Anton	契訶夫	Russia	張可堅/譯	紀艾文	2007.5.16-19	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2007	Mary Stuart	瑪莉・史圖亞特	Schiller, Friedrich von		Germany	胡海輝/譯	胡海輝	2007.5.16-19	演藝學院5樓10號室	香港演藝學院
2007	Woman and Scarecrow	輓歌	Carr, Marina		UK	吳紹熙、林敏妍/譯	劉小佩	2007.5.25-27	香港話劇團黑盒劇場	香港話劇團
2007	Tuesdays with Morrie	相約星期二	Hatcher, Jeffrey and Mitch Albom		USA	陳鈞潤/譯	古天農	2007.6.8-15 2007.10.25-28	西灣河文娛中心劇院 香港文化中心劇場	中英劇團
2007		那時…愛你…快5年	Brown, Jason Robert		USA		陳永泉	2007.6.22-30	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	正劇圓台
2007		爆谷殺人狂	Elton, Ben		UK	魏綺珊、李展鑾/譯	鄧偉傑	2007.7.6-14	香港文化中心劇場	糊塗戲班
2007	The Merchant of Venice	威尼斯商人	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	葉遜謙/譯	莊培德	2007.7.20-22	香港文化中心劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2007	Pinnocchio's Family	木偶仔奇遇記	Collodi, Carlo		Italy	許樹寧/改編	許樹寧	2007.8.3-12	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	樹寧・現在式單位新新青年劇場
2007	Othello	樂與怒	Hills, Lyn		Australia	周偉強/譯	陳永泉	2007.8.10-12	香港文化中心劇場	香港音樂劇藝術學院
2007	River Boy	小河男孩	Bowler, Tim		UK	施柏林	陳曙曦	2007.8.24-26	西灣河文娛中心劇院	天邊外劇場
2007	What the Butler Saw	窺心事	Orton, Joe		UK	鍾燕詩/譯	鄧偉傑	2007.8.24-31	葵青劇院演藝廳	焦媛實驗劇團

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2007		壽歌HOGIUTA	北村想		Japan	山崎理惠子/譯		2007.8.26-31	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	三十路組
2007	Sunday in the Park with George	點點隔世情	Lapine, James		USA	張可堅/譯	張可堅	2007.9.21-23	香港大會堂劇院	劇場空間
2007	Oedipus	依狄帕斯	Hughes, Ted		UK		Draffin, Robert	2007.10.5-7	前進進牛棚劇場	前進進戲劇工作坊
2007	Mulan	迪士尼木蘭	Souci, Robert D. San		USA	余俊峰、周詠嫻、李趣慧、洪奕顯/譯	李趣慧	2007.10.12-14	西灣河文娛中心劇院	葉氏兒童合唱團/葉氏兒童音樂劇團
2007		貝克特的無聲與呢喃－《結局》、《戲劇》、《呼吸》、《無言劇I》、《來與往》、《無言劇II》、《非我》	Beckett, Samuel	貝克特	UK	黃穎文、陳瑞如/譯	陳恆輝	2007.10.31-11.3	藝穗會劇院	愛麗絲劇場實驗室
2007		浪漫．儀式．切古華拉	Guevara, Che		Argentina	張笑翼/改編	張笑翼	2007.11.7-8	香港藝術中心麥高利小劇場	韓國木雞劇團
2007	Antigone	焚城令	Sophocles		Greece	黃國鉅/改編	陳曙曦	2007.11.16-18	香港文化中心劇場	天邊外劇場
2007	The Duchess of Malfi	權．慾．樂與怒	Webster, John	約翰·韋伯斯特	UK	葉遜謙/譯	鄧偉傑	2007.11.21-24	演藝學院戲劇院	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2007	Hamlet	王子復仇記	Shakespeare, William	莎士比亞	UK	何文匯/改編	麥秋	2007.11.22-25	香港文化中心大劇院	大中華全球文化協會
2007	The Open Couple	靚太作死之你滾紅我滾綠	Fo, Dario and Franca Rame		Italy	魏綺珊、伍嘉琦/譯	歐思朗、王子	2007.11.22-25	香港文化中心劇場	糊塗戲班
2007		廁所在這裡	別役實		Japan	山崎理惠子/譯	陳康	2007.11.23-24	土瓜灣E排練場	三十路組
2007	Boy Gets Girl	男捉女	Gilman, Rebecca	麗貝卡·吉爾曼	USA	余健生、李俊妤/譯	余健生	2007.11.26-12.1	演藝學院實驗劇場	香港演藝學院戲劇學院
2007	The Bridges of Madison County	麥迪遜之橋	Waller, Robert James		USA	李勝英/改編	高志森	2007.12.14-16	元朗劇院演藝廳	春天實驗劇團
2007	Our Town	小城風光	Wilder, Thornton		USA	張可堅/譯	麥秋	2007.12.21-23	香港大會堂音樂廳	香港戲劇協會
2007		兒童文學系列《雅雅Show》	Schreiber-Wicke, Edith		Austria	王敏豪/改編	王敏豪	2007.12.21-23	沙田大會堂展覽廳	大細路劇團
2007								2007.12.28-30	荃灣大會堂展覽館	
2008								2008.1.4-6	香港文化中心展覽館	
2007	Cyrano de Bergerac	風流劍客	Rostand, Edmond		France	鍾景輝/譯	莊培德	2007.12.21-30	香港文化中心劇場	中英劇團

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